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ABSTRACT

This collection of articles includes: "Implementing Discourse Analysis for Intermediate and Advanced Language Learners" (Maria Palmira Massi); "A Comparison of Front-Page News in Japanese and British Quality Press Newspapers: Cultural Differences Reflected in the Press" (Christopher Bond); "Have You Ever Heard of Ogino Ginko? Japanese Women in History as Role Models for Language Learners" (Maria Haarmans); "Can Native Literacy Practices Impact EFL Learning? The Example of Japan" (Charles Jannuzi); "Graphical Literacy: The Unconsidered Question of Format" (Paul Mason); "A Word Mining Activity for Learning Adjectives of Personality" (David Dycus); and "On-Line Newspapers as a Source for Language Teaching Material: Part 2" (Charles Jannuzi). The publication also includes a review of the article, "Corpus Linguistics: Investigating Language Structure and Use" by Douglas Biber, Susan Conrad, and Randi Reppen (Andy Barfield). (Each paper contains references.) (SM)

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Volume 5
2001

Implementing Discourse Analysis for Intermediate and Advanced Language Learners

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Statement of Purpose

Literacy in one's first language (L1) has become essential for virtually anyone wishing to function in most of the modern world. At the same time, growing contact between the world's people has increased the need for foreign language learning and has highlighted the need for a greater understanding of the aspects, processes, development and implications of FL literacy (FLL). *Literacy Across Cultures* seeks to be a means to network people, ideas, theory, practice and experiences that can help lead to a better understanding of FLL. In doing so, we aim to move beyond idealized constructs of the L2 and FL learner, and to make clear the differences between L1, L2 and FL literacy practices, processes and theoretical models.

To do this, we seek to encourage locally relevant research into foreign language literacy in Japan and to map out commonalities and differences between features of foreign language literacy in Japan and in other countries. We also aim to foster and network study groups and local grassroots linkups with teachers in other countries in order to learn about their situations and needs, and to create greater understanding and mutual cooperation between teachers in different countries and situations.

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This is the last issue of ***Literacy Across Cultures*** to be published in association with the Foreign Language Literacy Special Interest Group (FLL SIG) of the Japan Association for Language Teaching (JALT). Literacy Across Cultures will continue to be published, but as an independent journal. The editors would like to thank JALT for the support given to the FLL SIG over the last five years.

Implementing Discourse Analysis for Intermediate and Advanced Language Learners

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Discourse Analysis (DA) comprises the study of language in use, unifying different levels of linguistic description and explanation. Moreover, DA enables an account of language use that is not only strong from a descriptive perspective (linguistics' traditional forte), but one that also has explanatory dimensions, since DA can help to account for the psychological, social, and psycho-social rationales that motivate language choice for communication. DA's cross-disciplinary scope and depth better enable advanced learners and teachers in training to apply competencies at understanding language use to various real world communicative contexts. This article introduces and discusses some of the theoretical and methodological bases of DA. It is hoped that the discussion will inform language teachers and teacher trainers so that they can pass on to their students an enhanced ability to systematically explore communicative language use across a myriad of contexts and social purposes.

Discourse Analysis (DA) has become a core field within linguistics, with a significant applied influence on language teaching (LT). DA has applied value for LT because it can be used to equip our learners with competencies at understanding language use in the various communicative contexts in which they will be expected to operate outside of the classroom. Such competencies are all the more important if the students will someday be language teachers or translators themselves. This article discusses and explains some of the theoretical and methodological bases of DA, so that language teachers and teacher trainers can enable their TEFL and academic trainees to carry out a systematic exploration of how language is used successfully across a myriad of contexts and social purposes.

DA comprises the study of language in use, unifying different levels of linguistic description and explanation (e.g., phonology, lexis, syntax, semantics, etc.). Moreover, DA enables an account of language use that is not only strong from a descriptive perspective (linguistics' traditional forté), but one that also has explanatory dimensions, since a DA account can help to determine the psychological, social, and psycho-social rationales that motivate language choice for communication.

Why Discourse Analysis?

In EFL classrooms where authentic and quasi-authentic materials are used, students are often confronted with a potentially confusing variety of texts. This can be justified with the pedagogical objective of providing abundant exposure to as many instances as possible of language used in real contexts. It can be argued that such exposure will help students to develop their

comprehension and production skills to ensure success in their academic and professional practices. The pedagogical approach suggested in these pages is based on a conception of language as a social semiotics, that is, a resource used to transmit essential patterns of a culture realized in the texts produced by the members of that culture (Halliday, 1978; Kress, 1985; Martin 1989; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Fowler 1998/1991), so our task as EFL teachers should be to develop in students an attitude that promotes the exploration and discovery of (1) basic text types, (2) the structure of the values linguistically encoded, and (3) their social function.

In light of this, texts should be viewed as laboratories for analysis, with the ultimate aim being to improve the students' overall performance. Emphasized are learner-based theories (see, for example, Oxford, 1990; Nunan, 1991; Wenden, 1991; Dickinson, 1991). Such theories generally stress social interaction, critical thinking skills, language awareness and psychological autonomy (see Figure 1 below). Also receiving focus is a process approach that advocates reading-writing connections and the teaching of reading and writing processes together, encouraging their constant interaction, since they are considered to be similar acts of construction and response.

Figure 1
What Learner-based Theories Tend to Emphasize

- learners' involvement in a collaborative fashion with the teacher and cooperatively among themselves
- a focus on the systematic development of learning skills leading to autonomy
- the use of authentic texts for communication and language learning
- the deconstruction/analysis and construction of texts in creative ways
- the implementation of skill-getting and skill-using tasks

(Oxford, 1990; Nunan, 1991; Wenden, 1991; Dickinson, 1991 *inter alia)*

DA should be broadly approached so that on completion of their course of studies at university level, students as new language professionals (teachers, material writers, etc.) can decide on the appropriateness of the materials available for classroom and professional use. They should know how to incorporate insights and techniques from applied DA so as to be able to select and produce materials relevant to their own specific situations. Specifically within language teaching situations, DA may be of use when assessing the content of a publication for classroom use or when choosing representative texts to present and practice one particular grammatical or conceptual area. As DA covers and relates in an explanatory fashion a vast domain of knowledge within linguistics, it may be used to enhance the future language professional's theoretical and methodological insights by enabling them to focus on how language is used in order to achieve certain communicative aims.

Conceptual and Theoretical Preliminaries

Since we are talking about texts as representations and artifacts of actual discourse practices, it is necessary to clarify with a brief discussion a set of key concepts that are essential to DA. The first basic distinction must be made between discourse and text. These two terms, though often more or less equated in ELT, must be differentiated stipulatively for the purposes of this discussion. There is a general consensus that both discourse and text are stretches of language beyond the sentence or clause level. A text can be defined as a semantic unit which constitutes

a unified whole. The more general term, discourse, is used to refer to language in use in a context, with the consideration of both the production and reception processes that arise in a particular social setting. DA treats data as the record (i.e. text) of a dynamic process in which language is used as an instrument for communication in a context by a speaker/writer to express meanings and achieve intentions (i.e. discourse). The aim is to describe and explain regularities in the linguistic realizations of people when they communicate those meanings and intentions.

Another useful distinction made in DA is between form and function. The first refers to the isolated grammatical aspect of a particular utterance while the latter describes how the audience interprets it. For example, in the utterance, "It's rather hot in here," there might be a lack of one-to-one correspondence between grammatical form — a statement — and communicative function — a request to open a window. The correct interpretation in this case will depend on a number of factors of a contextual nature. Indeed, the form vs. function dichotomy reveals that we cannot just focus exclusively on form. In both the reception and the production stage, we need to be able to move from propositional meaning to function in order to match the linguistic formulation with the writer's intention. As Cook (1989) cogently puts it, "there are times when making language function effectively is more important than producing grammatically correct sentences" (p. 41).

Yet another fundamental concept is that of context, that is, the environment or the (extra)linguistic circumstances in which a text occurs. An understanding of the situational context facilitates the reception and interpretation of a stretch of language beyond the linguistic forms which are used since it includes analytical categories such as the topic, the participants, the setting, the purpose and the event, as well as the background knowledge and assumptions underlying the communicative event. Each of these notions contributes to a foundation for implementing a discourse approach to reading and writing. In the next section, we will explore the possibilities that DA offers for the linguistic exploration and interpretation of texts in the arena of the EFL classroom at university level.

The Psycholinguistic-Cognitive Perspective

The preceding section's overview and the approach to teaching DA in this paper are based on a Psycholinguistic-Cognitive perspective based on the work of Barnett (1989). Such an account stresses the cognitive structures and processes involved in reading and comprehension processes, drawing on key terms such as schemata, interactivity, text processing, strategies and metacognitive awareness to explain how successful text reception occurs.

Schemata are theorized to be mental data structures with stereotypical patterns that individuals retrieve from memory and employ while comprehending and producing both spoken and written language. In dealing with the written mode, for example, schema theorists argue that as readers or writers confront situations in which they need to process texts, they evoke past experiences with text content and form to assist their interpretation. For example, if a story starts with "once upon a time," readers will draw from their past experiences with content to conceptualize it as a fairy tale, and from their experiences with form to process the text as a narrative. However, if either the content or the form are too unfamiliar, they may have difficulties in processing and making sense of the discourse.

Interactivity refers to the 'dialogue' between a text's author and the reader. Successful interactivity is closely related to the degree to which schemata are shared.

Text processing is the driving element of the pedagogies based on Psycholinguistic-Cognitive views. This term refers to ways of approaching reading texts which attend to the different strategies that should be encouraged to make sure that text, context and reading task

provide maximum support to the foreign language learner's current linguistic and schematic knowledge.

Strategies refers to the development of selective reading and learning tactics. These include but are not limited to, memorizing, taking notes, summarizing and outlining. Successful and effective use of these and other learning strategies and approaches to tasks, in turn, will rely on building up and using metacognitive awareness, which is an ability to think about the particular cognitive procedures activated in order to complete a task.

A successful approach to the teaching of DA will involve activites and exercises which address each of these areas. It will provide students with the means to expand their schematic knowledge and will lead them to better understand, participate in and, when necessary, question the processes and assumptions involved in the interaction between writer and reader. The materials and activities involved will encourage the use of different text processing and learning strategies so that learners employ a multi-faceted approach to texts that will ultimately develop their metacognitive awareness and their ability to critically assess the material they read. The rest of this article presents some ways in which these goals can be accomplished with higher-level EFL students and teachers in training.

Discourse Analysis: Possibilities for Language Teaching and Learning

DA has become a leading discipline in the field of applied linguistic studies, exerting a significant influence on language teaching. Knowlege of it can certainly be very useful for students, trainees and practising teachers. Discourse analysts look for regularities in patterns and features occurring in stretches of actual language in use, both in the written and spoken modes, so that broad categorizations can be formulated in regards to both the formal and the functional aspects of any given coherent chunk of language. The sorts of questions discourse analysts ask amount to a rationalist, linguistically informed interrogation of a text. The ability to do this type of inquiry can and should be extended to language professionals such as teacher trainers, teachers, and translators. (See Figure 2 for examples of the sorts of questions asked in DA.)

Figure 2
Rational Inquiry about Text and Discourses:
What Sort of Questions do Discourse Analysts Ask?

- How can we infer and understand more than people actually say when we "read between the lines?"
- How do writers and lecturers express their meaning in the right "voices" for specific audiences?
- What formal characteristics and assumptions on the part of both the author and reader distinguish, for example, an article in an academic journal from a report of the same research in a magazine for a mass audience?

Needs Analysis, Course Content, and Instructional Flow

Once an adequate collection of texts has been chosen for intermediate and advanced level students of English (with their academic and future professional needs as the main criteria), a preliminary use of discourse analysis in instruction might consist of gist activities that ask the students to determine subject matter. Then, attention could be focused on the vocabulary used throughout, with particular reference to the author's choice of lexical items, register, use of metaphor and other stylistic devices. In particular, an interesting area to embark on is the analysis of lexical processes in text, including collocation and word reiteration. Depending on the students' level, another possibility is to explore the grammatical links that tie the text together. This analysis will reveal the cohesive elements — reference, ellipsis, substitution, conjunction as well as the discourse markers (Schiffrin, 1987) and the semantic relationships they convey to make the text hang together as a unified whole. Such an analysis can be used create word sets (or semantic fields) which not only highlight target content vocabulary, but can also be used to show how cohesion and coherence are accomplished in the text (see Halliday and Hasan, 1989, for further explanation of how cohesion and coherence are separate but related issues).

Afterwards, pedagogical analysis might turn on some typical syntactic patterns or formal regularities in the linguistic realizations according to the level of proficiency required. Some leading questions include: Are the sentences and structures too complex? Where does the linguistic complexity lie: in the length, the ideas, the information structure within and beyond sentence level? Has the original text been abridged or simplified for teaching purposes? In order to consolidate different linguistic patterns, while analyzing the text, it is interesting to observe both structural and lexical repetition, since these provide conceptual links and a considerable amount of input.

Another important dimension of DA to sensitise students to is related to some more global characteristics that distinguish, for instance, an oral interview from a written report. In spoken discourse, attention should be paid to turn-taking so that the symmetry or asymmetry of the interactional exchange can be understood. Other interesting facets to explore are the ways in which the information is organized and presented to the interlocutor, the use of adjacency pairs and the like. In a written piece, text type is an important analytical category that will help unravel the predominance of one of the canonical discourse types, namely, description, narration, exposition, argumentation and instruction (see Figure 3). For example, in a mainly narrative piece — a story, an anecdote or a joke— there are some structural components known as 'orientation', 'complication' and "resolution", with some other optional categories such as "abstract" and "coda" (Labov and Waletsky, 1967). These broad labels constitute the semantic scaffolding of the whole narrative text, which will differ greatly from a descriptive or an argumentative piece.

Figure 3
Categories of Textual Strategies

- Description (what things are like)
- Narration (retelling of events in a sequence)
- Exposition (non-evaluative presentation of concepts and facts)
- Argumentation (evaluative presentation of points on a topic)
- Instruction (directive or procedural steps)

(Werlich, 1982)

A functional perspective is also quite relevant in DA, since it seeks to make visible the pragmatic use of the text: what its communicative function and its contribution to human interaction are (the 'what-you-want-to-achieve' with a stretch of language, or 'how-to- do-things with words'(Austin, 1976)). As texts are variable in nature, their purposes should also be viewed in terms of dominances of a given purpose or contextual focus. For instance, in the language of advertising we are likely to detect the predominance of argumentative discourse with the overall function of persuading the audience to buy the item advertised, though embedded description and narration patterns are likely to be found performing a subsidiary function. This hybridisation is actually of a fairly obvious nature, since texts seldomly appear in a pure state and, therefore, almost never allow for a strict categorization.

Strategies for Text Comprehension and Understanding Organization and Writer's Purpose

Effective readers not only understand what they read but also form reasonable ideas about who it was written for and why it was written. They also can make judgements about whether or not the the writer's choice of lexis, style and organization match the genre the writer has chosen. The set of questions below in Figure 4 provide learners with a framework to simultaneously analyse a text and develop their own skills at this important ability. Although simple, they summarize some of the ideas provided throughout this article. These DA tools can help contribute to intermediate students' EFL training as springboards to the systematic exploration of how language is used to create certain communicative purposes and achieve specific goals. At this level, the emphasis on the deconstruction-construction process turns to a focus on text content and its functional aspects — as well as on its organization or rhetorical disposition. Students should become familiar with some of the most common structural-textual ways of organizing content at the paragraph or discourse level, such as exemplification, illustration, comparison, contrast, definition, causal analysis, and so on.

Since language is not just a set of forms, the surface-level, formal description of standard language or discourse patterns is necessary but not sufficient. We need to explore other linguistic, psychological and social factors that are functional in nature since they allow us to achieve particular objectives with the language. Since meaning-making is as important as form-making, the students' attention should be geared to a careful and thorough analysis of the lexical choices made by the writer from the multiple possibilities that the linguistic system offers — generic nouns, deictic elements, inclusive and exclusive pronouns, the selection of syntactic forms (nominalization, passivization, topicalization), the organization of the information and the hierarchy established, the use of modality markers, and so on. As the analyses proceed, one after the other, the students' cognitive development will increase and their insights will in turn enhance their composing processes as they write discourse on topics of their own choice.

Written Production for Language Development

Students' writing development can be based on in part on the text-organization parameters already presented, providing ample opportunities for them to explore different formats both for fluency and accuracy practice. Once this initial threshold has been covered, we can move on to deeper analyses of more challenging texts — both from the linguistic and conceptual points of view — so as to familiarize the students with the arsenal of meanings that it is possible to encode through various discursive means.

Figure 4
Basic Questions to Elicit Analysis of Texts for Comprehension, Organization and Production

- What is the text about? [TOPIC]
- What general characteristics does the text have? (Is it descriptive, narrative, argumentative, instructional? [TYPE]
- Who is the text addressed to? [AUDIENCE]
- What are the main ideas? What are the supporting/subsidiary ideas? [IDEAS-CONTENT]
- How does the text end? What was the purpose of the author when writing it? [PURPOSE]
- What is the main function of the text? (To convince, persuade, inform, present an opinion, give instructions?) [FUNCTION]
- What is the formal aspect of the text? (Does it have the format of an article, an ad, a report, a report?) [FORMAT]
- How many paragraphs does it have? [FORM-STRUCTURE]
- How is the information organized and distributed in the different paragraphs? [ORGANIZATION]
- How are the paragraphs connected? What grammatical links are present? (connectors, pronouns, nouns, verbs) [COHESION]
- Look at one of the paragraphs in detail. How are the different ideas connected? How are the transitions across paragraphs handled. [COHERENCE]
- Are there any groups of words that are semantically related in some way? Are thereany semantic fields that can be attributed to the text? [LEXIS]

One Step Deeper in with Critical Discourse Analysis

There is much more than form and meaning at play in a text, since knowledge about the context, the readers' and writers' roles, and the values of the text-producers' cultures also affect text reception and interpretation. At advanced levels, developing these contextual sociocultural schemata can be the key to successful processing and production of a text that may or may not be appropriate to a particular situation. With this goal in mind, it is best to take a stance in keeping with Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA), the aim of which is to make more visible the ideological loading and the relations of power that underlie discourse (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p. 258). From this perspective, then, material should be selected according to its potential for generating a critical attitude in the students — that is, the text as a trigger to stimulate critical thinking — such as texts dealing with issues related to sex stereotypes, racism, immigrant policies, ethnic prejudice, power conflicts, discriminatory practices, and so on.

To illustrate cultural bias in all its media manifestations, we recommend the use of texts from all forms of the mass media: newspapers, magazines, broadcast radio and television, and the Internet. Using a set of materials lumped together as a unit on a particular leading topic is a common and useful practice. A broad selection of texts and materials can be used to show how the same topic is dealt with in a variety of text types and from a number of different points of view. The necessary variety can usually be found in headlines, articles, interviews, reports, editorials, advertisements and cartoons which, at their points of original consumption, were meant to arouse and stimulate reflection and debate. Especially with our advanced students,

we should capitalize on the fact that their command of grammar is consolidated and that their metalanguage is rich and developed, so our task is to guide them to go beyond the propositional content and work out ideological readings from a critical perspective.

For a start, the set of questions below (see Figure 5) should serve as a stepping stone to enhance reflection and stimulate an initial, basic approach to the text. Similar procedures for critical reading have been outlined by Kress (1985) and Wallace (1992). These guidelines can be explored in depth to reinforce and consolidate reading and organizational strategies. At the same time, they can help the learners get acquainted with the culture that has influenced the production of the text in question.

Figure 5
Basic questions for Critical DiscourseAnalysis

- Who writes/says X? [AUTHOR'S ROLE]
- Who does (s)he write/say it to? [AUDIENCE]
- What does (s)he say? [TOPIC]
- Why does (s)he say so? [PURPOSE]
- How does (s)he say it? [LINGUISTIC CHOICE]

This preliminary analysis should then give way to a detailed examination of the linguistic choices made during text-production and how these choices reflect beliefs and values either assumed to be shared with the reader or presented to challenge his/her positionings (Wallace, 1992). The number of analytical categories will vary according to our aims and purposes as we may look at different levels or dimensions of discourse. The analysis is now not limited to genres and structure: it aims at a broader social, cognitive and sometimes political interpretation and explanation. Following van Dijk (1999), presented below in Figure 6 is a list of some of the most relevant aspects to consider.

Figure 6
'Surface' Structures in the Formulation of Meaning

Morphological level (word inflection, derivation, formation):
- Use of neologisms

Lexical and lexico-semantic levels:
- Lexical choice and variation (e.g. *guerillas* vs. *terrorists* vs. *freedom fighters)*
- Use of lexicalized metaphors

Syntactical level:
- Agency (person or thing performing action, use of active vs. passive voice, etc.)
- Nominalization (forming of nouns from other parts of speech)
- Topicalization (English is typically a subject-prominent level, but subject-predicate does not always coincide with topic-comment in information)
- Word order (English is relatively uninflected, with word order playing an important part in grammaticality)
- Ambiguity
- Impersonalization vs. subjectivity
- Passivization (see also 'agency' above)

Let us look at an example of how these levels interact and influence the emerging discourse. In the case of a newspaper report, for example, a reporter might witness an event and then be faced with the choice of referring to it as a *demonstration* (or a *protest*), a *rally*, a *riot*, a *street battle, war in the streets*, a *confrontation*, and so on. Later on, as (s)he writes his report in whole sentences, (s)he needs to make linguistic formulations and refer to the actions, the people involved, the effect of the actions, the place where it happened and so on. (S)he might choose *demonstrators confront police* or *police confront demonstrators; rioters attack police* or *police attack rioters; rioters are attacked by police* or *police are attacked by rioters; police disperse rioters* or *riot disperses*. Each of these choices has important discursive implications as to the role allocated to the different 'characters' or 'agents' in the event reported and certainly throw light on the text producer's staging and perspectivization.

The domain of semantics offers a complex and rich set of properties that are relevant for a critical approach. Mood and modality reflect the writer's own desires, needs and points of view. Mitigation — e.g. diminutives, markers such as 'sort of', 'more or less', 'it seems to me' — and mitigation's counterpart, intensification — expressions such as 'indeed and 'for sure' — are both also indicative of the text-producer's perspective and social positioning. The analysis of local and global coherence will throw light on the semantic structure of the text allowing the process of inference of implications — understood as semantic relations between (sets of) propositions — to discover the author's positioning.

Van Dijk (1999) uses the term 'disclaimers' to refer to the semantic moves deployed in discourse about "Others". Disclaimers function within the combined overall strategies of positive self-presentation and negative presentation of 'Others' and 'Otherness', and they express the frequent ambiguity and contradictions between people's general norms and values and their present attitudes and opinions. Some examples include the following selection: "I have nothing against X, but ... "(apparent denial); "I am sorry, but ... "(apparent apology); "I understand their problems, but ... "(apparent empathy); "I don't know much, but ... "(apparent ignorance). Attention should also be drawn to instances of intertextual relationships and the use of hedging and fuzzy terms instead of more or less 'precise' words. The summary of categories below (see Figure 7) may lead the students in their analysis.

Figure 7
Sentence and Discourse Meaning

- Use of mood, modality, mitigation and intensification
- Local coherence
- Logical relations between propositions (e.g. cause, condition, consequence)
- Functional relations between propositions (e.g. generalization, example, opposition)
- Global coherence (macrostructures)
- Implications and presuppositions
- Perspective and point of view
- Intertextuality

The Rhetorical Dimension

At the level of rhetoric — another dimension of CDA — we can gear our students' attention to the use of such complex devices as metaphor, irony, understatement, exaggeration, direct and indirect speech, among many other figures of style.

Due to the potentially argumentative nature of texts to be used at this stage, another interesting element to consider is the use of persuasive discourse with the purpose of motivating a change in the receiver's set of beliefs and values. Our students have to be assisted to go through complex texts which contain these rhetorical devices if they are to access the information contained in them and take a critical stance toward the arguments presented. A primary focus on the linguistic procedures in the construction of a text makes it possible to reach an understanding of its contextual and functional aspects.

Conclusion

In this article, we have explored different 'levels' or 'dimensions' of analysis in Discourse Analysis — morphology, syntax, semantics, text organization and rhetoric. The list of suggested categories and activities to explore them has not been exhaustive. This is because the intention here has been to bring the importance and the potential of DA and CDA into focus, particularly in the context of university education, the environment for the development of critical thinking *par excellence*.

DA is an approach to the description, understanding and interpretation of texts that entails many different analytical dimensions. This paper has only presented the tip of the iceberg, since the theory and method implied in this discipline of linguistics offer many interesting aspects that would require much more space to discuss. Finding regularities and patterns in texts is a matter of interpretations made on the basis of the incomplete and ambiguous clues and signals provided by the text producer. For this reason, in DA there is not just one single right answer: it is always possible to analyze a given stretch of language in more than one way.

In the reading and writing of every text, there is a place for individual interpretations, purposes and voices, and we should encourage our students to experiment within and outside textual boundaries and conventions to help them not only comprehend, but to intelligently evaluate and negotiate the texts and contexts in which they operate. By developing a rich understanding of texts through frequent review and reflection using DA and CDA techniques, we can assist students in the development of practices that will prove highly useful in their personal and professional lives.

About the Author

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A Comparison of Front-page News in Japanese and British Quality Press Newspapers: Cultural Differences Reflected in the Press

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Both teachers and students should be aware that there are a number of interesting and significant differences between Japanese and foreign newspapers — both in the kind of story which is likely to appear on the front pages, and in the style in which front-page headlines and articles are normally written. These 'cultural differences' were the subject of a detailed study of British and Japanese newspapers carried out in 1993. The current article presents in condensed form the previous study's main findings about differences between front-page articles across the U.K. and Japan. It concludes by suggesting certain areas to focus on when comparing and contrasting Japanese and foreign news stories in the classroom.

Newspapers are often used in language classrooms as sources of up-to-date and authentic reading material, and as a means of introducing topics for discussion. In Japan, front-page articles from foreign English language newspapers are especially useful for the latter purpose. The front pages of foreign newspapers usually focus on important international events, or give potentially interesting 'cultural' information about concerns and issues in the country of their origin. Comparing the treatment of the same news stories in the Japanese newspapers, in terms of such things as factual information content and style of reporting, is also a challenging but worthwhile exercise. Indeed, both teachers and students should be aware that there are a number of interesting and significant differences between Japanese and foreign newspapers both in the kind of story which is likely to appear on the front pages, and in the style in which front-page articles are normally written. These 'cultural differences' were the subject of a detailed study of British and Japanese newspapers carried out in 1993. This paper looks at the study's main findings about differences between front-page articles in the two countries, and concludes by suggesting certain areas to focus on when comparing Japanese and foreign news stories in the classroom.

The Scope and Methods of the Comparison[1]

The contents of four major British quality papers (The Guardian, The Independent, The Telegraph, The Times) and the three main non-specialized Japanese language national dailies (The Asahi, The Mainichi, The Yomiuri) were compared. The weekday (Monday through Friday) editions of these seven papers were monitored throughout the months of June and November in 1993.

Weekend newspapers were excluded because the differences between the two countries are too great. In Britain the Sunday papers have long been regarded as completely separate entities, and more recently the Saturday papers have also begun to resemble general-interest magazines. In Japan, however, there is actually not that much difference between the Sunday and weekday editions of the papers in question, and Saturday is still a normal weekday as far as the contents of the newspapers are concerned.

For the comparison of front pages, a total of 30 issues (15 from each month) were randomly selected for each of the seven papers. All the items on the front pages were measured, and the amount of space they took up was calculated as a percentage of the total amount of space on the page. In this paper the percentage figures in brackets, which usually follow references as to where and when the article appeared, indicate the amount of space which that article occupied on the front page.

News items were classified into categories according to their subject matter (see Table 1). However, less than half of the articles fitted neatly into a single category. In those cases when it was decided that the contents of an article should be assigned to more than one category, the amount of space was divided approximately into a number of parts, and each part assigned to different categories. For example, a brief article in the Yomiuri on the latest U.S. trade figures and the impact on the dollar-yen exchange rate (June 18th, 3.24% of the page) was deemed to concern both the U.S. and the Japanese economy in a 50-50 ratio. Thus it was recorded as 1.62% in the category of Foreign Countries, and as 1.62% in the category of (Japanese Domestic) Economy. Other articles were not so evenly divided, and there were also articles which were divided into more than two categories according to their content.

Table 1
Average Percentage Content of Front Pages by Month in 1993

	JAPANESE			*BRITISH*		
	JUNE	*NOV*	*AVERAGE*	*JUNE*	*NOV*	*AVERAGE*
Politics	25.71	13.96	**19.84**	19.32	13.54	**16.43**
Economics	3.79	10.65	**7.22**	7.53	4.99	**6.26**
Crime	1.19	6.34	**3.76**	3.47	10.51	**6.99**
Social Issues	2.42	3.22	**2.82**	3.45	5.79	**4.62**
Personalities	1.78	0.28	**1.03**	8.38	3.72	**6.05**
Sport	—	2.55	**1.27**	3.81	2.67	**3.24**
Culture [including Media]	1.23	1.43	**1.33**	0.08	4.60	**2.34**
Environment (Int'l Environment)	3.47	3.04	**3.25**	1.05	0.97	**1.01**
Foreign Relations	2.44	2.04	**2.24**	0.18	0.70	**0.44**
Foreign Countries	7.99	2.40	**5.20**	1.98	2.89	**2.44**
International Group (Member)	2.90	5.08	**3.99**	1.77	1.39	**1.58**
International Group(Defence)	2.05	0.57	**1.27**	1.26	0.64	**0.95**
War / Terroris (Domestic)	1.34	0.20	**0.77**	8.39	5.61	**7.00**
Accidents/ Disasters (Int'l)	0.36	2.88	**1.62**	2.82	5.60	**4.21**
Miscellaneous Articles	3.94	4.94	**4.44**	6.41	6.23	**6.32**
BANNER	2.63	2.63	**2.63**	8.52	8.52	**8.52**
ADVERTS	25.39	25.39	**25.39**	9.14	9.20	**9.17**
MISCELLANEOUS	11.37	12.50	**11.94**	12.44	12.42	**12.43**
Totals	100.00	100.00	**100.00**	100.00	100.00	**100.00**

Traditional Priorities on the Front Pages

The front page of a newspaper is usually the first, and often the only thing that a reader looks at. Not only does it serve the important function of establishing which are the most important stories of the day, but it also sets the tone of the whole newspaper.

A major factor influencing the make-up of the front pages is where the newspapers are sold. Most British and American newspapers are now bought in newsagents, bookshops and other retail outlets. Since a large number of readers do not even place a regular order, an interesting or striking front page could be enough to persuade a customer to change his allegiance. In Japan, however, there is not the same urgent need to attract readers since the vast majority of sales are by subscription.

When the first modern Japanese newspapers appeared in the late nineteenth century they were simply a single large sheet folded in half to make four pages. The first two pages were reserved for political and economic news. News about crime, personalities, sport and social issues appeared on the third page, which was known as the *shakai men* [Translation: social page]. This tradition still largely persists even today with the 'social news' usually found on two or three pages at the back of the newspaper. The lack of a similar tradition in Britain and the USA may well be part of the reason why the press is sometimes criticized for over-emphasizing crime and other social problems in these two countries.

Given this historical background, it was not so surprising to find almost twice as many crime stories on the front pages on the British papers in 1993 (see Table 1). In fact, the number of Japanese front-page crime stories would have been much lower had it not been for the extraordinarily large number of articles concerning cases of political bribery! There were also nearly twice as many articles relating to social issues and problems, and almost three times as many sports stories.

However, despite the Japanese newspapers' tradition, in recent years stories about unusually disturbing or shocking crimes have often forced their way on to the front page, and there is also a recent tendency for articles about the Japanese national teams' successes in international competitions such as the Olympic games or the soccer World Cup to appear.

Different Styles of Headlines

Front-page headlines in the British papers often seem much more dramatic, and have a tendency to contain stronger and more emotive language than headlines in the Japanese papers, which are almost always succinct and factual. There are several good reasons why this should be the case. Firstly there is the important difference in where the newspapers are bought. Since the majority of British quality papers are now bought on a daily basis from newsagents and bookshops, a dynamic or unusual headline could be enough to persuade the casual reader to buy. There are also important cultural differences at work. The Japanese public seems to value and respect formality much more than the British; to be more accurate, it expects to find formality and reserve in its long-established quality newspapers. The papers for their part are very concerned to be seen as responsible and as neutral as possible, since that is their accepted role in Japanese society. Tied in with this there is also the oriental trait of trying to avoid making contentious statements or appearing over-dramatic. There are also differences in the type of language which is thought to be authoritative or interesting or, simply, worth reading in the two countries.

Newspaper headlines are almost by definition concise and to the point, and the Japanese certainly prefer theirs to be as succinct and information-laden as possible. This probably has a lot to do with the national preference for things that are compact and tidy. The Japanese have had to become skilled at using limited space in their daily lives and they have long been associated

with miniaturization and simplification, as exemplified in traditional arts such as *bonsai, ikebana* and *haiku*. Furthermore, the Japanese language itself, with its use of *kanji* (morphographs/ logographs with sylized pictographic and ideographic elements) borrowed from Chinese centuries ago) and a strong tendency to abbreviate almost everything — including even 'loan words' from other languages — lends itself very well to expressing a lot of ideas in a short headline. A good example of this sort of factually-packed headline was the Mainichi's headline about the Ramsar Treaty Conference on June 15th (7.86%). In the closing stages of this conference on the preservation of the world's wetlands, the participant countries agreed set up a formal system for assessing the amount of environmental damage which any new construction project would create. However, there was some debate about whether this system should be made compulsory. All of this information was succesfully crammed in to the Mainichi's headline, *asesu houseika gimu to sezu*. [Translation: Formal assessment system to be introduced, but not to be made compulsory.].

The British public seems to prefer headlines which are dramatic, humorous or even provocative, rather than informative. An article about the alteration of lyrics in a new Disney movie after complaints from certain ethnic groups produced the amusing headline, "Disney censors lyrics after Arabs carpet Aladdin" in the Independent (November 23rd, 7.58%). After none of the British football teams managed to qualify for the 1994 World Cup the Guardian's dramatic headline was "World ends for British soccer" (November 18th, 28.02%). They may even use long and cumbersome headlines for a near-poetic effect, such as, "As thousands flee, the dead must lie where they fall in the bloody fields of Travnik" (Times, June 9th). Such a headline would be extremely unlikely to appear anywhere in the Japanese papers, let alone on the front page.

However, the Japanese papers tend to use sub-heads a lot more than the British papers. Since these sub-heads are similarly information-packed, this effectively enables them to put even more information in their headlines. The bigger stories regularly have two, and occasionally three sub-heads. Often the size of type used for these sub-heads is almost as large as that used for the main headlines, making it difficult to know which is which. In the British papers sub-heads are much more rarely used-even with the big stories there is very seldom more than one — and they are invariably in much smaller type than the main headline.

Differences in Shared Coverage Headlines

There were, in fact, very few news stories that were covered simultaneously on the front pages of both countries' papers during the time of this study. With an average of just over 15% of the Japanese papers' and less than 13% of the British papers' front pages given over to news from foreign countries there was actually very little room for overlap. There is also a natural geographical bias towards neighboring countries to be taken into consideration. However, one international disaster which did make the front pages of all of the papers except the Guardian, was the large-scale bush-fire which caused billions of dollars of damage in the Los Angeles suburb of Malibu at the beginning of November. The British newspapers' headlines all included fairly emotive or dramatic vocabulary such as "wildfire sweeps through homes" (Telegraph), "ravaging" (Independent), and "billion dollar.....fires" (Times). Both the Telegraph and the Times mentioned the "film stars" in their headlines. However, in the Japanese headlines there was very little sense of the drama of the situation. The Yomiuri and Mainichi both used a commonplace verb *semaru* [Translation: approach] in their headlines. (Mainichi: *semaru yama kaji* [Translation: Mountain fire approaches], Yomiuri: *umi ni semaru yama kaji* [Translation: Mountain fire approaches the coast]). The Asahi headline contained more information about the location: *rosukinkou daika futatabi* [Translation: Big fire again in Los Angeles suburb]. Only the Mainichi mentioned the movie stars, and that was in a small sub-head: *sutaara mo hinan* [Translation: Stars flee LA suburb].

Similar differences were seen in headlines about international events. In 1993 the civil war in Somalia was causing concern in most developed countries, but the British papers carried front-page articles on the war much more frequently than did the Japanese. However, on June 18th, both the Mainichi and Asahi had room for the big story of the UN Peace Keeping Force's decision to search out and arrest General Aidid. Once more the headlines in both papers were very similar and very straightforward. The Asahi reported, *aidido shougun taku senkyo* [Translation: General Aidid's residence occupied], with a sub-head which added, *kokuren butaitaihou no kamae* [Translation: UN Forces in Somalia prepare to arrest him]. The Mainichi had a much smaller article with a main headline which was even briefer than the Asahi's: *aidido tei senkyo* [Translation: Aidid's palace occupied]. It's sub-head simply stated the fact that 60 lives had been lost in the operation. In the British papers, on the other hand, there was more emotive language, but less factual information. Instead of using Aidid's name both the Independent and the Times referred to him as the "Somali warlord." None of the British papers mentioned the occupation of Aidid's residence in their headlines, but the Independent referred to the UN troops' search as a "hunt", a word which suggested not only a dramatic life-or-death pursuit, but also that General Aidid was being viewed as some kind of quarry.

Domestic Politics Headlines

During the period under study, Japanese politics were turbulent and one might well have expected the dramatic events in the Japanese political world to produce some memorable front-page headlines. However, this was not the case. On June 15th the opposition parties formally agreed to draft the vote of no-confidence in the Miyazawa Cabinet which would bring down the Government and effectively put an end to the so-called 'system of '55' which had dominated post-war Japanese politics. However, the Asahi's headline on the next day simply stated, *yatou asu ni mo naikaku fushinninan* [Translation: Opposition parties to draft a vote of no confidence in the Cabinet (as early as) tomorrow]. The Mainichi had a similar headline. There was something of a growing sense of urgency in the headlines of the next few days as it became clearer that the LDP, Japan's traditional party of government since the last war, was finally breaking up, and that there would have to be a general election. But the headlines did not touch on the potential long-term significance of the events, nor was there much emphasis on the leading political figures involved in the crisis. Ensuing coverage was remarkable not just for its similarity but also because they presented the reader with little more than facts which very few people could have had failed to have noticed by the time the papers arrived.

In Britain during this period there was no single day which could really compare with the political significance of the events in the Japanese Diet. However, there were some dramatic events in the House of Commons on June 9th when Mr. Norman Lamont used his resignation speech to launch a bitter verbal attack on Prime Minister Major and his Cabinet. The main headline in the Guardian on the following day concentrated on the personalities involved, and used metaphorical language to suggest the intended effect of the speech, "Lamont strikes at Major's heart". The Times also used metaphorical language in its headline: "Lamont's bitter revenge casts shadow over Major's survival". The Independent's headline was a straight comment on the political repercussions of the speech, "Lamont fuels doubts over Major's leadership." Although there are good reasons to suppose that many people would not have been aware where, when or why Lamont had made his speech, the British papers' headlines assumed that readers were already cognizant of these facts. Instead of giving more facts they tried to build up the drama of the event, and to give some the reader some angle on the significance of the speech.

In another eventful day in Parliament, in November the House of Lords embarrassed the

Government by exercising their right to reject the bill to privatize British Rail three times. In effect the passage of the bill was simply delayed and there was neither a serious constitutional crisis nor a disaster for John Major's Government, which was able to stay in office for its full term. However, the Times' headline suggested an epic struggle: "Tories battle with Lords over rail bill." The Guardian also used a similar metaphor: "Rebel Lords retreat over BR." Sub-heads in the Telegraph and Times both highlighted the same kind of confusion and panic in Parliament that the Japanese papers played down during the crisis in June (Times: "Commons turmoil after defeat"; Telegraph: "Ministers face chaotic scramble to rescue privatization plan").

Formality, Facts and Impartiality

The differences in approach to formality, factuality and impartiality suggested by headlines is reflected in the content of articles as well. The beginning of a news item in the Japanese papers almost invariably follows a rigidly set pattern. Reports from overseas always begin with the name of the city where they were written, followed by the date and the writer's name or some other source reference. Domestic news stories do not usually carry the writer's name, unlike in the British papers, but the opening sentence almost always refers to a date and place and the main theme of the article. In longer articles the main theme is usually summarized in a short opening paragraph which is physically separated from the rest of the text.

There are no such rigid conventions in the British papers. In practice the opening sentences of most articles does serve to introduce the story, but a date or place is not always as clearly stated as in the Japanese papers. Often articles begin with a dramatic sentence clearly aimed much more at immediately grabbing the reader's attention than at establishing reference points. The Independent's report on the latest developments in the hunt for a serial killer, which made the front pages of all four British papers in the middle of June, began, "One homosexual will be killed every week, police have been told by a serial killer who has murdered five times" (June 17th, 15.61%). One of the many reports from the Bulger trial began, "He appears as a tiny, lone figure, scarcely discernible amid an everyday scene from a shopping mall" (Independent, November 4th, 6.18%).

The Japanese papers take impartiality and respect so far that they would be unlikely to attach a judgmental adjective to an individual's name. Yet a Times' article about the latest scandal involving the Tory party and Mr. Asil Nadir actually began with the sentence, "An embittered Asil Nadir, the fugitive businessman at the heart of a row over Tory party funding..." (June 18th, 20.33%).

The Japanese papers make a very deliberate attempt to separate factual information from comment and supposition. In this way they could be said to try to be more openly impartial than the British. Many of the main front page stories in the Japanese papers are structured in a way which seems to be designed to segregate fact from comment, and to give the reader the maximum amount of information. The Mainichi's leading front page story about allegations of falsified research data at Tokyo University Hospital was a good example of such a formally structured article. The main facts of the story were summarized in an opening paragraph: a group researching into a new drug to treat pancreatic cancer was accused of deliberately tampering with test results by senior officers of the surgical department at the same hospital. The main part of the article concentrated on explaining the type of errors that had been found in the group's findings. It was only in a separate smaller article with the headline *izuteki de wa nai* and with a smaller sub-head, *Uchida kyouju kataru* [Translation: Not deliberate, Professor Uchida says] that there was any attempt to make any kind of judgement about the allegations, and even then there was little more than short quotes from both sides. A second smaller accompanying article gave additional information about the history of the research group explaining

its prestigious position in the Japanese medical world. During the Japanese political crisis in June the main articles in all three papers were little more than factual accounts as well. With other big stories, too, comment was included separately.

In the British papers, however, comment is often an inextricable part of the article itself. On June 15th the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Clarke made his first important speech on the state of the economy before an audience of London dignitaries and senior businessmen at the Guildhall. On the following day it was covered on the front pages of the Guardian, Telegraph and Times. Although in their main articles all three papers stayed very close to the Chancellor's actual words, there were still quite significant differences in the tone of the reports. The Telegraph opened its report (22.49%) with a very positive sentence: "A significant shift in the balance of Tory policy-making in favor of business, economic growth and improving people's living standards was signaled last night..." However, in the Guardian (45.29%) the Chancellor's positive start was not seen as having much substance. The article opened by saying that Mr. Clarke had "sought to put a fresh optimistic gloss on economic policy." Later in the Telegraph article Mr. Clarke was again described in positive terms as having "confirmed" that he was "keeping open the option of tax increases." But in the Guardian this particular option was seen as a very negative choice, to be avoided at all costs, but one which the Chancellor had been unable to deny completely: he had "refused to rule out further increases in taxation." Furthermore, both the Guardian and the Times included accompanying articles about reactions to the speech in the political world. In the Guardian's case (9.15%) in particular it was not separated out from the main article or introduced as editorial comment, even though the paper's left-of-center political standpoint was clearly evident in several places. According to the article the speech had been met with "suspicion on the (Conservative) Right" and the City was "skeptical" about the new Chancellor's abilities. It also took the opportunity to mention that "John Major's leadership is still wobbly." The Times article (11.82%) appeared to be independent comment by a well-known political journalist, but it also showed the paper's sympathy for the Conservative Party in phrases such as "green shoots of economic thinking" and "a move back towards common sense."

Going into Detail

British newspapers usually try to present their readers with a cross-section of the big news stories of the day on their front pages. However, there are times when one story is so important that it almost completely dominates the page. In Japan this is also generally true, with the proviso that there is a traditional bias towards political and economic news. This practice means that there is not sufficient space to go into very much detail in front page articles; instead the reader is referred to follow-up stories or continuations on the inside pages. However, in those cases where the editors do decide to go into slightly more detail for whatever reason there are noticeable differences in the type and amount of detail which is presented. In general the British papers seem to prefer to use details to set a scene or capture the mood of an event, or just to entertain or amuse the reader. In the Japanese papers, on the other hand, more detail seems to mean simply more information, and often the information is so detailed or specific that it seems slightly out of place on the front page.

Political Reporting

During this period, June 19th was the only day on which a single story almost completely dominated the front pages of the Japanese papers. Each paper also carried follow-up stories on the dissolution of the Diet and the crisis in the LDP party on at least four inside pages. The front page articles all gave a full account of how the Government had failed to defeat the no-confidence vote, with both the Mainichi and Asahi publishing tables showing exactly how members

of each political party had voted. There was also some discussion of the suitable dates for the general election, and the prospects of new parties emerging. There were very few direct quotes from leading politicians, although the Yomiuri did include a few short lines from one of the leading LDP rebels, in which he briefly explained why he had voted with the opposition. Both the Asahi and the Yomiuri included lengthy articles from their respective political editors (Asahi 10.52%, Yomiuri 13.77%). It was only in the Asahi's article that there was any real sense of the importance and excitement of the day's events. The language used was strikingly frank as it directly addressed the disillusioned majority of the Japanese electorate. The article stated that, in view of the continued failure of political reform, it was not surprising that the Japanese public were now saying to the politicians: *baka ni suru na* [Translation: Stop making fools of us]. The article then went on to declare that there was now a chance of really big changes in the political system, and called upon the electorate to voice their complaints and help to bring about these changes at the forthcoming election. Although the Asahi, at least, did try to build up the significance of the day's events, what was most conspicuously absent from all three accounts of the day's proceedings was any description of the atmosphere in the Diet, or the mood of the politicians involved in these dramatic events.

This is in sharp contrast to the way in which events in the British Parliament were usually reported in the British papers. When the House of Lords held up the Government's controversial Bill to privatise British Rail at the beginning of November, all of the British papers covered the events in some detail. However, there was actually very little detail about which chapters of the legislation the Upper House had objected to most strongly. Instead there was a great deal of description of the mood of the House, with expressions such as "angry peers", "anxious whips", "frantic re-arranging" and "constitutional confusion" punctuating all the reports. There were also plenty of quotes from all the parties' spokesmen. The Guardian also carried a 'sketch' of the day's proceedings in the Lords written by the well-known political columnist, Matthew Engel, which contained descriptive passages such as "The scene was absurd: a group of has-beens and never-wases, ...seated on benches apparently borrowed from an ill-advised pub refurbishment of the 1970's" (November 4th, 11.44%).

Given the restrictions on front-page space, the Japanese papers' inclusion of factual details can often seem excessive. When the political reform bills were being debated in the Diet at the beginning of both June and November, for example, all the papers went into quite a lot of detail about the proposed changes in the electoral system. Still, given the low turn-outs at Japanese elections, and the general lack of interest in politics which most opinion polls continue to show, it must be questionable as to how many people were actually interested enough to read this kind of detail.

In other cases the Japanese front pages contain detail when one would expect to find comment in the British papers. One example of this was the Asahi's reporting of the Hosokawa administration's handling of the opening of the rice-market. An article on November 12th informed the reader of exactly when and where the first consignments of overseas rice would be arriving in Japan, but it was not accompanied by any comment on the significance of the events. In contrast to this, the debate over the British Government's proposals to change the state benefit entitlements of single parents — or the "lone parents storm" as it was called in the Independent (November 10th) — was widely covered in all the British papers in November. But, in fact, there was very little to report in terms of what the Government was actually proposing to do.

Accidents and Disasters

In the British papers accidents and disasters are normally given a dramatic treatment. All the British papers had extensive front-page coverage of the coach crash in Kent in which ten American tourists were killed. Long articles included quotes from rescuers, police officers, hospital

workers, and even a priest. There were vivid descriptions of how the motorway embankment had been churned to mud as rescuers had struggled to free passengers trapped in the overturned coach. There were also accounts of touching scenes of reunion. Although the articles tended to skirt over the direct causes of the crash, they all referred to the fact that the scale of the accident had fueled the debate over whether the wearing of seat belts should be made compulsory on motorway coaches. They all mentioned that one Government Minister, Mr. Robert Key, was calling for immediate legislation. (Ironically eight days later in another motorway crash eleven children and their teacher, who were all not wearing seat-belts, were killed.)

In Japan there was only one accident which made the front pages during this period. At the end of November, the Asahi was the only Japanese paper to cover an accident on the so-called 'Japanese Rhine' when a pleasure boat overturned. The article (November 29th, 26.15%) reported that all 30 passengers had been thrown into the water, eleven had been slightly injured, but that only one was still missing. It included the name, age, address and occupation of the missing man. It also briefly referred to the local police's analysis of the direct cause of the accident: *kanii sho no shirabe nado de wa, yuuransen ga kyoufuuka de fudan yori migi yori no koosu ga zure, kawa chuuo no iwa ni butsukatta.* [Translation: According to the Kanii Police, strong winds blew the pleasure boat off its usual course on the right-hand side of the river into rocks in the center] The article went on to give the precise depth of the water at the point where the accident occurred, and also referred to a report from the Gifu weather bureau that unusually strong winds of 8 meters per second had been recorded at the time of the accident. There were no quotes from anyone involved in the accident, nor any attempt to describe the scene.

Humor and Variations in Style

Almost all the news items on the Japanese front pages are written in very formal language with the emphasis on facts. The only variation from this style is to be found in the regular 'editorial columns' (see below). In the British papers, on the other hand, the style in which an article is written tends to vary according to the subject matter and, as can be seen in the preceding sections, facts often do not seem to be as important as capturing the mood or atmosphere of events.

Given the British love of humor it was not surprising to find that, in addition to the regular cartoons, a considerable number of front page articles were of a fairly humorous nature. Most of these appeared in the Guardian, which seems to like to have at least one amusing article on its front page every day. Both the Guardian and the Independent picked up the story of a German entrepeneur's plan to open up a former East German prison camp as an unusual kind of theme park (November 10th). The Guardian also had the story of a haulier who was so enraged when a cricket ball went through the window of his lorry that he drove onto the cricket pitch whence the ball had come to make his feelings known to the astonished players (June 22nd, 4.58%). There was also the story of the vicar who was calling on his parishioners for subscriptions, which had the headline "And now let us pay..." (November 23rd, 6.54%). The Times gave a mildly humorous treatment to the cricket ball tampering case on November 16th, with the headline, "Lawyers on a sticky wicket". The Telegraph reported the amusing fact that the same artist had received awards for the best and worst entry for the annual Turner Prize, with the latter award actually being more valuable in monetary terms (November 24th, 8.6%).

What was perhaps slightly more surprising was that often quite serious subjects were also given fairly humorous treatments on the front pages of the British papers. The Japanese papers solemnly reported that the Maastricht Treaty officially came into effect on November 1st, with the Yomiuri including a feature article on the event on its front page written by the editor of the Economist magazine (20.45%). The Guardian was the only British paper to mention the significance of the date. But its short article headlined, "Silent birth of Europerson" (November 2nd, 8.23%) homed in on the British public's general apathy towards this historic event.

Relations with foreign countries are also invariably dealt with very seriously in the Japanese papers. However, the Telegraph's front page article on EU Finance Ministers' criticism of a plan to cut unemployment by increasing job-sharing (June 21st, 7.02%) became the report of an amusing slanging match between M. Jacques Delors and the British Chancellor Clarke. Clarke described Delors' plan as "folly", but Delors was quoted as saying, "I don't feel the need to win against my colleagues. Perhaps we should build a cricket pitch outside for Mr. Clarke."

Crime is also another serious issue in the Japanese press, but the British papers often see its funny side, even on their front pages. When an 80-year-old former army general attempted to repulse a burglar who had broken into his home, the Telegraph reported the struggle as a kind of comical boxing-match (November 9th, 12.55%). A serious case of drug-smuggling, uncovered at a Spanish airport, was given a similarly light treatment in the Guardian on June 7th (5.25%). The story of the British mountain climbers who had failed to inform the Nepalese authorities of their attempt on Mount Everest and were forced to pay massive fines provided plenty of opportunity for puns in the Telegraph, beginning with the headline, "Everest's illegal climbers pay high price" (November 8th, 6.4%).

On the Japanese front pages, however, there is very little humor to be found at all. Even the captioned photographs of natural or traditional scenes, which are used to brighten up the front pages of all three papers, are almost never chosen for their humorous content. A rare exception to this rule was the Mainichi's coverage of an unusual fashion contest that took place in Tokyo (November 23rd, 18.63%). The idea of the contest was to design working clothes of the future, and it had the title, *shigoto ga tanoshiku naru* [Translation: Clothes to make work fun]. Most of the article was taken up with three large photographs which featured a waitress' outfit, complete with numerous multi-coloured napkin-holders on the front and a missing left trouser leg. But even in this case there were no jokes as such; readers were left to make up their own mind about it all.

The British papers also seem to like to adapt the tone and type of language used in an article to fit the subject matter. In an amusing parody of the popular press' reporting style, the Times' headline after the England football team had lost an important World Cup qualifying game was, "Tabloids put boot in to Taylor" (June 4th, 6.71%). The report went on to mention the "sickening thud of tabloid boot on manager's face following the 2-0 defeat." When the manager finally gave up his position in November the Telegraph similarly used very colloquial language in its headline, "Graham Taylor quits over World Cup flop"(November 24th, 25.38%).

On the rare occasions when sport appeared on the front pages of the Japanese papers the reports were as factual and serious as any others on the page. All three papers had brief articles on the Yakult's victory in the 'Japan Series' baseball. The opening paragraph of Yomiuri report (November 2nd, 12.06%) included the fact that the final game in the series had started at 1:03 pm precisely, and that Yakult had won the game 4-2, and the series 4-3. It went on to mention in what innings the points were scored and noted that Mr. Kawasaki, the Yakult pitcher, had been declared the 'Most Valuable Player' in the series. The Mainichi and Asahi reports were similar.

In the British papers plain or vulgar language seems to be deliberately used to catch the reader's eye and add a sense of immediacy to the article. Two days after Norman Lamont's resignation speech in the Commons, the Times carried the headline, "Lay off me, warns Lamont, or there's worse to come" (June 11th, 25.15%). This was not actually a direct quote from Lamont, but the paper's own down-to-earth summary of the gist of his reaction to the criticism he had received from other Conservative Party members. Other articles seem to be written in irreverent language for comic effect, such as the Independent's story about the Norwegian Minister who had annoyed feminists by getting pregnant while in office. The article began, "Norway's feminists have got their blue stockings in a twist..." (November 5th, 5.33%). At other times a common expression is simply the easiest and most direct way of getting the information across, as in the Independent's headline, "Jail ships lined up to relieve cell crisis" (Independent, November 2nd, 15.76%).

It is rare for any colloquial language to appear in any of the Japanese front-page news items. The Mainichi report on the results of a survey on wedding expenses was one of the exceptions. It was also unusual in that it contained a mildly amusing cartoon image of a wedding couple standing by their cake (June 21st, 16.30%). Most of the article was a purely factual analysis of the figures, but it did use the slightly colloquial word, *yahari* [Translation: as you might have guessed], to add a touch of levity when referring to the fact that people in the Tokai region spent more on their weddings than people in any other region: *ichiban gouka na no wa, yahari 'toukai' datta* [Translation: It was no surprise to find that the poshest affairs are in the 'Tokai' district].

Front-page Feature Articles

Although the British papers do occasionally include front page 'sketches' of dramatic events in the Houses of Parliament or in courtrooms, it is not their practice to carry any kind of feature articles on their front pages. However, about a fifth of the Japanese front pages included special feature articles. These typically took up around 15% of the page, and were either 'one-offs' or, more often, parts of a series. The Yomiuri ran a five-part series on reforming the Japanese tax system (November2nd-6th), and the Asahi had a three-part series on the re-birth of Japanese politics (June 21st-23rd). These articles provide a wider angle on important stories but, despite making greater use of quotes from people directly concerned in the issues, they are still written in basically the same formal style as the other news items on the page.

Japanese Newspapers' Front-page 'Editorial Comments'

In the Japanese papers it is only in the regular front-page columns of 'editorial comment' that there is any variation from a serious, formal tone. All three Japanese papers have regular columns of 'editorial comment' on their front pages. The Asahi's is entitled *tenseijingo* [Translation: vox populi, vox dei], the Mainichi's is *yoroku* [Translation: off record] and the Yomiuri's is *henshuutechou* [Translation: editorial jottings]. However, the term 'editorial comment' is used somewhat loosely in this case. Although the columns are written by senior editorial staff, they do not always contain comments on the major stories of the day. In fact, the range of subject matters and the style in which they are written is quite unlike any of the other news items on the page. All three papers devote very similar amounts of space to these columns (Averages: Asahi 5.24%, Mainichi 4.69%, Yomiuri 4.10%). There are also many similarities in both style and content. There are no regular columns of any type on the front pages of the British papers and editorial comment only very rarely appears there.

During this period approximately a quarter of these columns were effectively additional editorial comments on the big issues of the day. In the columns of all three papers, but most especially in the Mainichi, there were some instances of the use of sarcasm to poke fun at the Miyazawa Government's failure in June. The Mainichi's June 3rd column began by talking about fossils formed by great and sudden flooding, and then moved on to the latest find of pre-historic animal remains in Gifu Prefecture. Suddenly in the last paragraph it turned on today's politicians, who were described as being so light-weight, as they flit from one position to another, that their footprints would be impossible to find even with the aid of a microscope. Instead, the analogy continued, all that can be seen these days are the fossilized remains of defeated politicians caught up in the political deluge. The following day's *tenkœhitogo* in the Asahi started out by examining the various uses of the verb *hineru* [Translation: twist around] which has various obscure meanings especially in traditional *haiku*. However, the latter half of the column made puns about how the politicians are "twisting around" the reform bill to suit themselves; these days, it concluded, it is not just those with "twisted minds" who are angered by their antics. The Mainichi's June 23rd *yoroku* was the

most brutal in its condemnation of the LDP. It began by talking about how scientists now consider man to have evolved through various stages, and around 30,000years ago *shinjin* [Translation: modern man] appeared. But, it continued, when we look at the faces of politicians like Kanemaru, Takeshita and Miyazawa it is laughable to think of them being the result of the evolution into 'modern man': *anna kao ni naru ka to omou totamaranaku okashiku naru.*

On other occasions these columns begin with levity but later take on a more serious tone. The Asahi used an amusing conversational style in the *tenseijingo* of June 26th which began with two people talking about the large number of vending machines in Japan compared with other countries. However, when the conversation addressed the issue of whether vending machines should continue to dispense alcohol it received a much more sober treatment. Even issues which one might think would lend themselves easily to a comic treatment are usually dealt with seriously. The *tenseijingo* of November 22nd dealt with the issue of how Japanese wives should refer to their husbands in Japan. In the British papers one might well have expected any number of facetious suggestions but the Asahi was cautiously respectful of the views of those modern wives who no longer wish to refer to their husbands as *goshujin*, which translates literally as "masters". Similarly in the Yomiuri on November 3rd there were no jokes about the increasing number of people who are taking up walking as a hobby; instead walking was solemnly endorsed as being a good way to stay healthy, enjoy nature and communicate with other like-minded people.

There are also times when the columns seem to wander casually from one subject to another in a style vaguely reminiscent of the traditional *zuihitsu* style of writing that came into Japanese from Chinese. One Mainichi *yoroku* (November 23rd) began by discussing the weather, moved on from discussing life insurance to the story of Cardinal Richelieu's cat having been left money in the Cardinal's will, and finished with the tongue-in-cheek observation that next door's cat may be more of a philosopher than you might think. The subject of the Yomiuri's *henshuutechou* on November 12th was children's lullabies. It talked about a well-known guitarist who had become one of the leading experts on the subject, travelling around the country giving lectures and recitals. The column included lines from obscure songs in the original dialects. The Asahi's *tenseijingo* column of November 24th consisted of the writer's personal thoughts on the life and works of Wordsworth, having begun with an apology for a minor error in an earlier column about the British poet.

As well as serving the purpose of presenting the responsible, sensible face of the Japanese press, the regular columns also have the equally important function of helping to break up the monotony of formal and serious reporting on the front pages.

Some Implications for Language Learning

Newspapers are a common source of up-to-date and authentic reading material. They are also used as a means of introducing topics and providing key background information for discussion, a technique that is quite popular in the EFL classroom in Japan. The front pages of such newspapers usually focus on important global, regional, and national events.

In terms of possible cross-cultural and cross-linguistic insights, comparing and contrasting headlines from overseas newspapers with those of the students' own national press can add considerable and useful content to the EFL classroom. For example, comparing and contrasting headlines across cultures in terms of such things as factual information, content, emphasis and style of reporting can prove to be a challenging but ultimately worthwhile exercise. Headlines are such an obvious aspect of newspaper production, presentation and reception that they are often taken for granted. However, headlines play an important part when a reader scans a newspaper. When scanning headlines, the headlines' content, language

and style draw and focus that reader's attention. If interest is sparked, schemata are activated, thus preparing the reader to read in depth in order to learn and interpret new information from the article. In part, this is where cross-cultural and cross-linguistic issues can arise, since culturally determined differences in expectations can complicate and problematize even fluent reading processes and the construction of meaning in them. This is equally true of the style and content of the articles themselves, where differences between the British and Japanese approach to reporting may be a barrier to understanding. It must also be remembered that many EFL students are NOT fluent readers of their FL, and their reading processes might be 'short circuited' and distracted from comprhension more easily by unexpected differences in the ways the news is presented. This might be even more true for EFL learners in Japan, where students often think of EFL texts as authoritative sources of target language for teacher-led translation classes, where the texts have been chosen to provide examples of language structures and vocabulary, rather than as sources of real world information.

In short, although there are seemingly strong surface similarities in the front-pages of Japanese and British quality-press newspapers, there are important differences, both obvious and subtle, between them of which readers need to be aware. Given their expectations of what is 'proper' in news reporting, commentary, and editorial comment as is found in Japanese newspapers, the Japanese student of English may well be surprised, confused, or even distrubed by such things as colloquial language in British articles and slang and puns in headlines. Furthermore, the combination of commentary with reporting in British articles may be disconcerting for a Japanese reader who is used to a more rigorous separation of fact from opinion in front-page news and commentary. There is an advantage in such materials, though, in that learning to discern fact from opinion is an essential reading skill, so articles from the British press can provide useful reading material for developing this important ability. In addition, the way news is reported and the stories that are carried say something about both the people who report the news and those who read it, making newspapers a source of potentially interesting information about the culture, attitudes, concerns and issues of these people. Either way, the Japanese student of English (as well as the English student of Japanese!) will likely benefit from being sensitised to the differences in approach between the press in the two countries.

Conclusion

In this study the differences between Japanese and British quality-press front-page news reporting were discussed. Differences in style and content were noted in almost every aspect, from the style and content of headlines to distinctions (or lack thereof) between factual reporting and commentary and thus the impartiality the writer (and by implication, the newspaper) assumes. In general, the Japanese quality press was found to maintain a much stronger distinction between fact and commentary when reporting the news than the British papers studied. Another notable difference was in the preference for dramatic, humorous or even provocative language in headlines and articles in the British front-pages that is rare in their Japanese counterparts. Both for the teacher and learner of English or Japanese as a foreign language, awareness of such differences, often overlooked, is important.

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Have You Ever Heard of Ogino Ginko? Japanese Women in History as Role Models for Language Learners

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Feminist pedagogy is now receiving growing interest among EFL educators, creating a real need for translating it into actual plans and activities for the language classroom. In this paper, the author describes a method to address the need for better representation of women in the EFL classroom in Japan. The goals for the activities outlined are to enable students to (1) learn to critique knowledge itself; (2) gain knowledge of the history and accomplishments of diverse Japanese women who provide strong, capable, and self-determining role models; (3) assume a more active role in their language learning; and (4) develop ideas, skills and strategies which are important for the pursuit of further education, careers and/or social change.

Feminist pedagogy, developed in part as a corrective to the lack of gender analysis within the works of critical pedagogy theorists and practitioners (Jenefsky, 1996), is receiving growing interest among EFL educators in Japan and elsewhere. Indeed, many educators are now realizing that the images and language used in the classroom, as well as the extent to which their learners can identify with them, have an important effect on how well people learn; hence, it stands to reason that if women are under-represented in teaching materials — or represented in demeaning ways — the women who are taught with these materials may learn less well (Florent et al., 1994, p.113).

In Japan, the invisibility and/or stereotypical depiction of women in teaching materials (as well as other media) has contributed to "...the absence of diverse role models who young women can readily look to, identify with, and aspire to emulate" (Fujimura-Fanselow 1995, p. 139). In this paper, I will describe one of the ways I seek, in the language classroom, to offset this imbalance. Informed by feminist pedagogy (Jenefsky, 1996), my goals for the activities to follow are to enable students to do the following: (1) learn to critique knowledge itself; (2) gain knowledge of the history and accomplishments of diverse Japanese women who provide strong, capable, and self-determining role models; (3) assume a more active role in their language learning; and (4) develop ideas, skills and strategies which are important for the pursuit of further education, careers and/or social change.

One thing to note: as the discussion below makes clear, I choose to focus on Japanese women from history as opposed to women from other countries. As my students are Japanese women, I feel they may more readily identify and feel a connection with Japanese women role models. Moreover, I want to avoid 'importing' women from Western countries in order to offset another possible imbalance— that of Western cultural imperialism. In addition, I want to avoid the impression that the strength, determination, courage, and other attributes of the women are intrinsically related to their 'Westernness.' If students attributed too much to a woman's foreign cultural background, they might not be as inspired nor think to themselves "If she did it, maybe I could too." This reaction, incidentally, is one that students have expressed.

Initial Consciousness-Raising Activities

The following activities comprise a unit on "Japanese Women in History" implemented as part of a thematic content-based women's studies Communicative English course for first-year university students. With the increasing adoption of content-based EFL instruction at the university-level (Brinton et al., 1989; Swain & Miccoli, 1994; Soga, 1998; Wringer, 1998), teachers increasingly have the liberty to select, develop, and adapt authentic materials for their courses. As such, instructors can now ensure that women are not under-represented or depreciated in their course materials. Moreover, a content-based approach in EFL, where discussion is an integral part of the course, is more conducive to critical and feminist pedagogies which emphasize a critical inquiry into one's social reality.

To introduce this unit, I facilitate a consciousness-raising activity. In groups, students brainstorm and write down as many people from Japanese history as they can think of in five minutes. To create a game-like atmosphere, which students reportedly enjoy a great deal, I bring in a kitchen-timer from home. When the bell goes off students from each group write on the board all the names that they could come up with under the appropriate column *male* or *female*. The group with the most names is the winner. Invariably, for each group there are as many as 22 names under the male column with as few as three under the female column.

Next, I ask the students to look at the board and tell me what they see. Surprisingly the conspicuous gender disparity is not always their first observation. Some students, for example, reply that many of the men listed on the board are government leaders or samurai warriors. I encourage the students to look again and tell me what else they see. Eventually, students will say that the vast majority of people listed are men. Upon asking students why this is so — why most of the names are men — my students' faces stare back at me with blank or puzzled expressions. One or two students may remark that most of the people on the lists are men because men were more active in history. And when probed further, a student may explain that this is primarily due to the prevailing cultural norm of the times — of *ryosai kenbo* or "good wife, wise mother." Sometimes a student will comment that this traditional idea of "men in the public world and women in the private world" is discriminatory.

Using an OHP, I then show the students photo prints of various Japanese women mostly from the Meiji, Taisho, and Showa periods and give them a brief introduction of each. I ask the students if they have ever heard of any of these women. With the exception of perhaps one or two of the 12 women shown, none of the students have heard of any of the women. This has been a consistent response among first and second-year university students over the past three years. I pose the questions to my students: "Why do you think you have never been taught about these women in school? Why have you not read about them in any history texts?" After some urging, one or two students may reply that the majority of historical texts are written by men and thus it is the way history is written which excludes or minimizes women's contributions.

I emphasize how this kind of discrimination is not peculiar to Japan — it is universal. I share with my students that in school I, too, did not learn about many women in history and that it was only when I started to read on my own that I became aware of the many exceptional and talented women whose contributions to culture, politics, education, science, and society, are obscured.

Through this activity students do seem to gain a more critical perspective of the way history is written. For example, consider one student's journal reaction to the consciousness-raising activity:

> I think that your method was very interesting and effective. At first we did not know your intention. We felt we were playing a game and it was fun. Then we saw almost men's names on the board. When you showed pictures of Japanese women almost we didn't know them. Then, I got it! You explained that it was men who wrote most of history. Now I understand discrimination better.

All 12 of the Japanese women I introduce to my students have in common an independent spirit and a determination which helped them struggle with the gender discrimination of the times, achieve their dreams, and set precedents for other women.

Presentation Activities and Associated Procedures

A collaborative approach is used for these activities. Students work cooperatively in groups to do the research and to teach the class, through presentations, what they have learned about a particular Japanese woman in history. As students must dig deep to find information about these women, their research skills are strengthened. I introduce them to such resources as the Tokyo Women's Plaza in Omotesando, the National Women's Education Center in Saitama, as well as encourage them to take advantage of other universities, such as Ochanomizu Women's University and the United Nations University. To help guide their research, I give the students a list of questions (see Figure 2 below). They find these research projects very challenging but rewarding as well — particularly when reading other students' very positive responses to their presentations.

I found two things to be very helpful in encouraging students to listen carefully, ask questions and take notes (in English) during other groups' presentations. The first is administering a quiz on presentation content after two or three groups present. Each group is responsible for developing a short quiz based on their oral presentation report. Developing the quiz is an effective way for students to synthesize their material. Moreover, taking the quiz helps them improve their listening skills. They also report that they find it "fun." Finally, having a quiz in the middle of presentations provides a change of pace and helps prevent any one activity from becoming monotonous. The second thing I do to encourage active listening is allowing students to use their notes to help answer the quiz questions. Indeed, I am always impressed with the quality of students' notes — particularly when they pick up on things that I've missed!

A portion of one class is spent teaching the students how to make multiple choice and true-or-false questions. Students bring in the quizzes prior to presentation day and can request assistance for any required revisions. After completing final revisions for homework, students prepare enough copies for class distribution following their group's presentation. Students exchange and mark each other's quizzes in class immediately after taking the quiz. The day's presenting groups go over the quiz questions with the class, solicit answers, and provide correct responses. This allows for a more student-centered approach.

A lottery system is used to decide on what days various groups will present. Depending on class size usually three to four groups present during a 90-minute class. Groups' presentations are to be about 10 minutes of talking time with five minutes for questions and answers.

Adapting Yamashiro & Johnson's (1997) idea of public speaking in EFL course design, at the beginning of the course and throughout, the basics of academic English organization, language use and delivery skills for giving presentations are introduced. Students using tape cassettes in labs and in groups, learn and practice presentation skills, and evaluate themselves and classmates using a rating sheet (also adapted from Yamashiro & Johnson, 1997). Thus, by the time the students conduct their group presentations in class, they will have hopefully learned the skills and increased their confidence in giving presentations. I feel that these skills are potentially empowering. As Yamshiro & Johnson (1997) point out, "public speaking skills are increasingly important for global citizens who must create practical solutions to the world's existing and future problems (p. 16)."

Student Reactions

Are these women role models for my students? Are they really inspired by them? I think their words speak for themselves. Here are some sample journal entries (in the students' own language):

She [Kono Yasui] was studying very hard, so she showed that woman can study about science as a man...She was not married, but I think that she was happy. Because she could continue to study that she likes. I think that woman's happiness is not only marriage.

I respect Toshiwo Takai. She was poor. She worked very hard. She like working. But she hated discrimination. So she did union activities with her companion. She continued a labor movement her lifetime. I respect her way of life. She had her opinion. And she carried out it. She made effort a lot of thing. I want to have my opinion tightly. And I want to live like her. I think women still suffer from discrimination. I think women's rights still have a long way to go. But, I want to make effort solving these problem.

She [Yamashita Rin] had never changed her attitude till people had came to recognize her. I like this because I feel her strong will. And I like that she left home because she struggled with women's role in society. She lived having strong will and she had never been a slave of gender role. Her attitudes set a good example to women in future. I heard everyone's research about a woman. I thought that women is strong, so I'm very happy as a woman.

Conclusion

It is my hope that, through learning about the resistance, the struggles, and the achievements of these women, my students will be inspired both to acquire the courage to dream their own dreams and to struggle to achieve them. At the very least, students will have taught each other and me about the accomplishments of Japanese women in history; furthermore, by doing this, they will have corrected, at least in part, the gender imbalance so prevalent in all our lives.

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Can Native Literacy Practices Impact EFL Learning? The Example of Japan

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Katakana eigo is a Japanese term referring to English rendered into a written form that uses one of the two syllabaries of written Japanese. On the one hand, it aids a legitimate process: the borrowing and subsequent nativization of terms from English into Japanese. On the other hand, its use in EFL teaching and learning (because of its cross-lingual, L2 to L1 orientation) may well hinder literacy and language development in the L2. In this paper, the author looks at why *katakana eigo* is used in the EFL learning in Japan. The reasons center most on teachers' and learners' responses to the complex nature of the writing system of English. The author then goes on to cover katakana eigo in relation to the pedagogical stances possible. Finally, the author lists and describes methods and activities that could help to make katakana eigo and other such graphic translation 'crutches' unnecessary in the EFL classroom in Japan (and in other countrieswhere non-alphabetic writing systems are used).

Katakana eigo refers to the use of one of the syllabaries of written Japanese (*katakana*) for transcribing English into a more consistent, easily decoded form. For the sake of this article's discussion, EFL teachers' attitudes in Japan toward *katakana eigo* can be summarized as basically these three:

(1) *Katakana eigo* is bad, and we should ban it.
(2) *Katakana eigo* is not particularly useful, but it is part of the cross-lingual (L2 to L1) reality of teaching beginners in Japan, still let us not encourage it;
(3) *Katakana eigo* is a useful crutch, helping students as a cognitive bridge to literacy in EFL, so let us tolerate it and perhaps even adapt it appropriately to FLL here.

It is natural for beginners to make substitutions and simplifications with the FL's sound system and sound tactics. Non-native/JSL/JFL speakers of Japanese are no different on this point, something that native speaker EFL teachers here sometimes forget. It is also a matter of course that students might take a very familiar, consistent, phonologically transparent, syllabic script like *katakana* and use it to transcribe a language written in one that is not so easy to decode for pronunciation (that is, the complex, alphabetic writing conventions of English). It does seem possible, though, that a persistent reliance on *katakana eigo* throughout beginning levels of instruction wrongly reinforces the idea that English does not have its own sound system and phonotactics. The impression that beginners might get is that the sounds and the rules for combining them into clusters, vowel combinations and syllables in English are easily fit into the phonology of Japanese (they are not, not if intelligibility is to survive).

In standard phonemic accounts, spoken Japanese has far fewer sounds than English, and simpler phono-tactics for putting these sounds together into syllables. A typical Japanese syllable is V or CV type; few consonant sounds can close a syllable, and there are not many

consonant clusters. A writing system such as *katakana* that is based on a syllabic analysis of spoken Japanese, therefore, proves an ill fit for spoken English. What appears to be most at issue is the mental, phonological representations of the FL in the minds of the learners which enable them to process it with comprehension and to learn it. Here are two examples of how *katakana eigo* renders English into a Japanese form. Take the word *banana*. In Japanese, this word would be written as three syllabic characters, バナナ, which we can romanize as *ba-na-na*. In this case the written Japanese corresponds perfectly with the English (though note, the Japanese form of this word would be given fairly even stress across all three syllables, while the English word typically receives the strongest stress on the second syllable, with fairly neutral vowels in the first and final syllables). But look what happens with a second example, *McDonald's*. In Japanese, this would be written as マクドナルド, which as romanized is *ma-ku-do-na-ru-do*. Now, both the words *banana* and *McDonald's* are well-established loan words in modern spoken Japanese, and, as such, the nativized pronunciations of these for spoken Japanese are perfectly legitimate. But it is easy to see from these two examples what might happen to English words in an EFL setting if students used *katakana* to make target vocabulary more easily decodable. If a word has a similar syllable structure to Japanese (such as V or CV), then the effects are not so profound. In the case of a word like *McDonald's*, the English word with three syllables becomes a six-syllable word with all open syllables and a lot of intruded vowel sounds.

If *katakana eigo* is banned in class, this decision is a school's, department's or teacher's choice. However, we must also remain aware of two separate parts of linguistic reality in Japan, where English is both an important source of loan words and a much-studied FL: (1) Students are still going to make sound substitutions from Japanese and their inter-language when speaking and reading English out loud, and (2) English loan words become visible and usable in Japanese because they have been transcribed into *katakana eigo* form.

Possible Teaching Strategies

The following are some possibilities to help teachers work out a stance toward *katakana eigo*, keeping actual instruction in mind.

(1) Modification and expansion of the syllabary

We could modify *katakana eigo* so that it reflects better the sounds (instead of 20 some for Japanese, 44-48 for English) and the sound tactics (e.g. sound sequences and syllable structure) of spoken English. There are several modified and enlarged syllabaries in limited use in TEFL in Japan. These supplemented syllabaries seem inspired by the 'innovative' form of Japanese, which is Japanese that has added new sounds, sound sequences and supplementary *katakana* symbols, mostly as a result of English's tremendous influence on the language.

The good side of these modified and expanded syllabaries is that they can be used to transcribe fairly accurately the reductions of rapidly spoken English (which is not so obviously stress-based as once thought, and which simplifies in terms of the number of sounds actually pronounced). The down side includes: in order to get a better representation of spoken English, a lot of combined symbols are needed — and students still have to learn the English sounds, since a symbol is not a sound, but only possibly stands for a sound if the speaker mentally knows that sound. A problem with representing English at a syllabic level using syllabic symbols is that, in theory, you would need a set of symbols that numbered well into the hundreds, possibly thousands. The phonotactics of English result in a lot of different syllable types; moreover, English is one spoken language in which syllable and even word boundaries demonstrably overlap (with many phonetic 'features' spread across two or more syllables, even entire words

and word groups). Finally, it has to be pointed out that the systems I have seen, however carefully constructed they might be, seem to waste a lot of time presenting something that is of no use for reading real written English.

(2) Adopt the ITA

We might adopt a reformed system of spelling, such as the Initial Teaching Alphabet (ITA). The ITA is a simplified spelling system based largely on a phonemic account of English. It is overall a more consistent, simpler use of the Roman alphabet conventions of written English. It uses a lot of the same characters as those of real written English, but it more consistently abides by the alphabetic principle: one letter always stands for only one sound (with the exception of the sound /k/ being spelled as <c> in some words – like *cat* – and <k> in others – like *kind*).

The good side of this is that for those who know the full set of 40 plus categorical sounds (such as fluent native speaker children coming to literacy for the first time), it does make written English more phonically transparent. The down side is that it only makes alphabetic sense if you know the sounds. It would still confuse speakers of other languages who did not have all those sounds. Moreover, in order to capture all the English sounds in a one-symbol / one-sound relationship, the ITA has to use more symbols than are available in the 26 letters of our alphabet. In order to do this, the inventor of the ITA created or imported exotics. Such exotic symbols are not found in real written English and they can be confused with dictionary transcriptions.

Also, the ITA has never been used much in printed texts of English, so there are few materials available. If a school or teacher wanted to try out the ITA, they would probably have to develop all their own ITA materials. (I would suggest creating storybooks with tapes for young learners). And, sooner or later, students would have to be weaned off the ITA and launched into real written English, a detour that may be very difficult to take if one is teaching within a national education system with curriculum set by a Ministry of Education (such as Japan).

(3) Use the IPA

We could use the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) and teach pronunciation as phonemics and phonetics (The pros and cons of such an approach are covered thoughtfully in Maguire, 1995). The IPA was designed to give linguists, lexicographers and language teachers a tool to represent consistently and as simply as possible a language's set of categorical sounds (called phonemes) with a corresponding set of symbols. However, the symbols of the IPA can be used to represent a language in two overlapping ways: quite *widely* (one symbol for one phoneme) or quite *narrowly* (to show important phonetic variation within a sound category). Both are necessary for FLL, since the rules that govern sound variations of phonemes may not make any intuitive sense to a foreign language learner, however logical and natural such variation may seem to a native speaker. A narrow representation (which gives a very large set of sounds for spoken English that goes far beyond the 44 phonemes attributed to the language) is achieved by using additional symbols and marks to try and capture the important phonetic complexity of a spoken language — things like vowel length or sound alternations. It is this latter phonetic flexibility that enables linguists to transcribe with a considerable degree of detail ANY language as it is spoken using the IPA symbols. Most writing systems, however, have not evolved or been developed with this sort of detail in mind (with Korean *hangul*, a featural and syllabic writing system, being an interesting exception). IPA symbols indicating the pronunciation of words are found in most Japanese dictionaries of English and in most EFL dictionaries produced by major ELT publishers.

As with the ITA, many of the symbols of the IPA are rather different than the Roman alphabet, while others are confusingly the same (same symbol, different sound often). Also, many native speakers of English do not know the conventions for transcribing pronunciation into the IPA (especially in the U.S., where quite different symbols are typically used in dictionaries meant for native speakers). And, in the case of EFL learners, it makes no sense whatsoever to learn many IPA symbols for a particular language without knowing the sounds they are supposed to stand for. Finally, IPA transcriptions do not help with real written English, unless you are patient and take the trouble to deal with two written scripts.

Unlike the IPA, though, at least the ITA (see #2 above) is based on some of the conventions of real written English, so with a bit of instruction and practice, native speakers of English can learn very quickly to read it (though obviously, lack of word knowledge and lack of sounds hold back EFL students).

(4) Approach English spelling head-on

We could be honest and direct with students and say, "Look, you have to learn to read real English from the start." Then, as teachers it is our responsibility to give the students the instructional framework and task structure by which to acquire a fluent ability to process the complexity of real written English. With lots of oral input and activities that involve reading-while-listening or listening-while-reading, this seems possible. But again, for teachers who have to function in a national system with strict schedules for covering the curriculum, are administrators, senior colleagues, parents and students willing to wait out the initial difficult period in which learning with written texts seems to be too slow? One reason we might be tempted to revert to 'crutches' like *katakana eigo* is, like any other type of translation, its expediency. However, it cannot be denied that with adolescent and adult learners, fluent literacy skills are also of use in FL learning (for a rationale see Field, 1997). Next, let us look at how a straight on approach to the complexity of English spelling might be accom-plished in a well-balanced EFL literacy and learning program.

Whole Language Using Picture Books

'Books-with-tapes/tapes-with-books' methods are increasingly in use, such as in Australia (*Leggi-Ascolta*, Di Biase, n.d.) and in Brunei (RELA, Ng, Seok Moi., 1994). These have been deemed to be highly effective because they are designed to keep the language demands down at the start of L2 learning while using two complementary input channels (visual-reading, aural-listening) simultaneously. Moreover, they make it possible to balance listening, speaking, reading and writing during the language learning process. In the case of books and reading lessons for beginners, comprehension of the foreign language is reinforced by the non-linguistic comprehension of the pictures. Moreover, 'books-with-tapes' methods emphasize storytelling and comprehension of narratives over formal language study. Thus they seem quite appropriate for young language learners. One issue, however, which requires further investigation is this possibility: that input through two or more parallel channels (visual/reading; visual-non-linguistic, and aural/listening) can lead to too much information and actually detract from comprehension. Learners who have developed mature reading processes and abilities for L2 text may not need the non-linguistic visual or aural reinforcement, and such reinforcement may actually detract from their understanding and speed in the processing of text.

Phonics and Spelling Pattern Approaches

We could try introducing systematic phonics along with beginning reading (though in EFL in

Japan, beginning EFL reading is often conflated with beginning language learning). Phonics would emphasize the regularity that is there. Systematic phonics stretched out over several years of the curriculum would have to go beyond the simple decodable words (like *cat* and *dog*) and deal with the numerous major and minor patterns (see Jannuzi, 1992a for an introduction to what teachers need to know about this complex regularity). Some EFL courses developed for children include a phonics component, but this element is largely overlooked in materials for beginning level adolescent and adult EFL learners (see McClelland, Hale & Beaudikofer, 1976 for a complete EFL phonics course appropriate for adolescents and adults). Game-like activities that focus on this aspect of written English and its interplay with memory skills have intuitive appeal for both teachers and students (see Jannuzi, 1992b). Many common patterns do not work along strict one-symbol-to-one-sound relationships. Rather, they provide complex non-semantic clues to pronunciation by visual analogy: you know how *sight* is said, so you generalize it to *might, night, right,* etc. Or, you know the word *eight* is said just like *ate,* so if you encounter the word *freight* for the first time, you guess that it rhymes with *eight* (even if you did not know the oral form of this word, though, admittedly, this type of knowledge would aid reading it.) (See Figure 1 below for a more thorough list of the vowel patterns.)

Phonics as a set of classroom procedures exemplifies a very traditional problem in presentation that is analog-ous to grammar: giving phonics 'rules' to students in explicit direct instruction does not guarantee learning and integration into English literacy. Cunningham and Cunningham (1992) make a convincing case for running classroom activities that help students to make and invent spellings to fit known and target vocabulary. Although their recom-mended procedures are geared for young literacy learners in native and ESL settings, they can be adapted to EFL children, adolescent and adult beginners. Non-traditional approaches that go beyond phonics or teaching and learning the symbol-sound relationships represented in the written code of English include Richards 1993) and Higgins, Higgins and Shima (1995), all of whom advise the use of mnemonics to aid the learner in what would appear to be a very memory-intensive task.

Also, teachers must not forget that the spelling patterns of written English work across related meanings instead of being limited to pronunciations (somewhat like English's lexical cousin, written French). Compare the spoken and written forms of the related words *phone, phonological, phonology,* and *phonics*. The spellings of these words provide both clues to pronunciation and meaning across related morphological forms, but the overall patterns retain stability of morphology at the expense of a phonetic account of the shifting vowel patterns. In this way, modern written English, like its lexical cousin, French, upholds etymological principles that preserve the word history of the language at the expense of phonological simplicity and transparency.

Specific Techniques for Material Writing and Classroom Tasks

Phonics and Whole Word Skills

There are a lot of materials for teaching EFL to children available from mainstream ELT publishers that include basic alphabet and phonics tasks. However, what about for older students like adolescents and adults? This is a concern since in many countries students do not really tart learning EFL until these ages, and many older learners go back to the classroom to re-learn EFL and find themselves at a beginning level. The best example of a phonics course forolder students that I have encountered in a commercially available form is McClelland, Hale, and Beaudikofer (1976, *English Sounds and Spelling*).

Palmer, Rodgers and Winn-Bell Olsen (*Back and Forth: Pair Activities for Language Development*,1985) have devised a reproducible set of whole-class and pairwork activities that

Figure 1. Major and Minor Vowel Spelling Patterns of Written English*

"Short"-"Long" Vowels: Basic Pattern

Short a /ae/: can, man, cap, tap, hat, rat
Short e /e/: pet, met, wet, pen, men, ten
Short i /i/: sit, kit, fit, tip, hip, sip
Short o /a/: not, hot, cot, mop, pop, hop
Short u /^/*: cut, nut, hut, fun, sun, run

Long a /ei/: date, rate, late, tape, cape, shape
Long e /i:/: meter, mete, complete, Peter**
Long i /ai/: time, dime, lime, site, kite, bite
Long o/ou/: note, vote, tote, rope, cope
Long u-yu /u:-ju:/: tube, lube, rube, cute, mute, tune

"Long" Vowels: Important Alternative Patterns

Long a /ei/: say, day, way, pay, may
vein, rein, reign, eight, freight
rain, pain, main, paid, maid

Long e /i/: see, fee, feel, sleep, seen
sea, tea, each, reach, teach
he, she, we, be, me
receive, receipt, deceive, deceit
relief, grief, thief, belief, believe

Long i /ai/: sign, high, night, right, light
kind, mind, blind, grind, find
my, why, fly, sky, type

Long o /ou/: boat, float, coat, soap, loan
know, grow, slow, flow, low
toe, foe, doe, Joe, roe

Long u-yu /u:-ju:/: too, soon, moon, boot, bloom
new, knew, few, grew, flew
blue, glue, true, due, Tuesday
you, group, soup, troupe, coup

Other Vowels

/u/: put, push, pull, full, bush

/au/: out, mouth, south, loud, shout
book, cook, look, took, good
now, how, cow, brown, crowd

/oi/: boy, joy, toy, soybean, coy
oil, boil, foil, coin, join

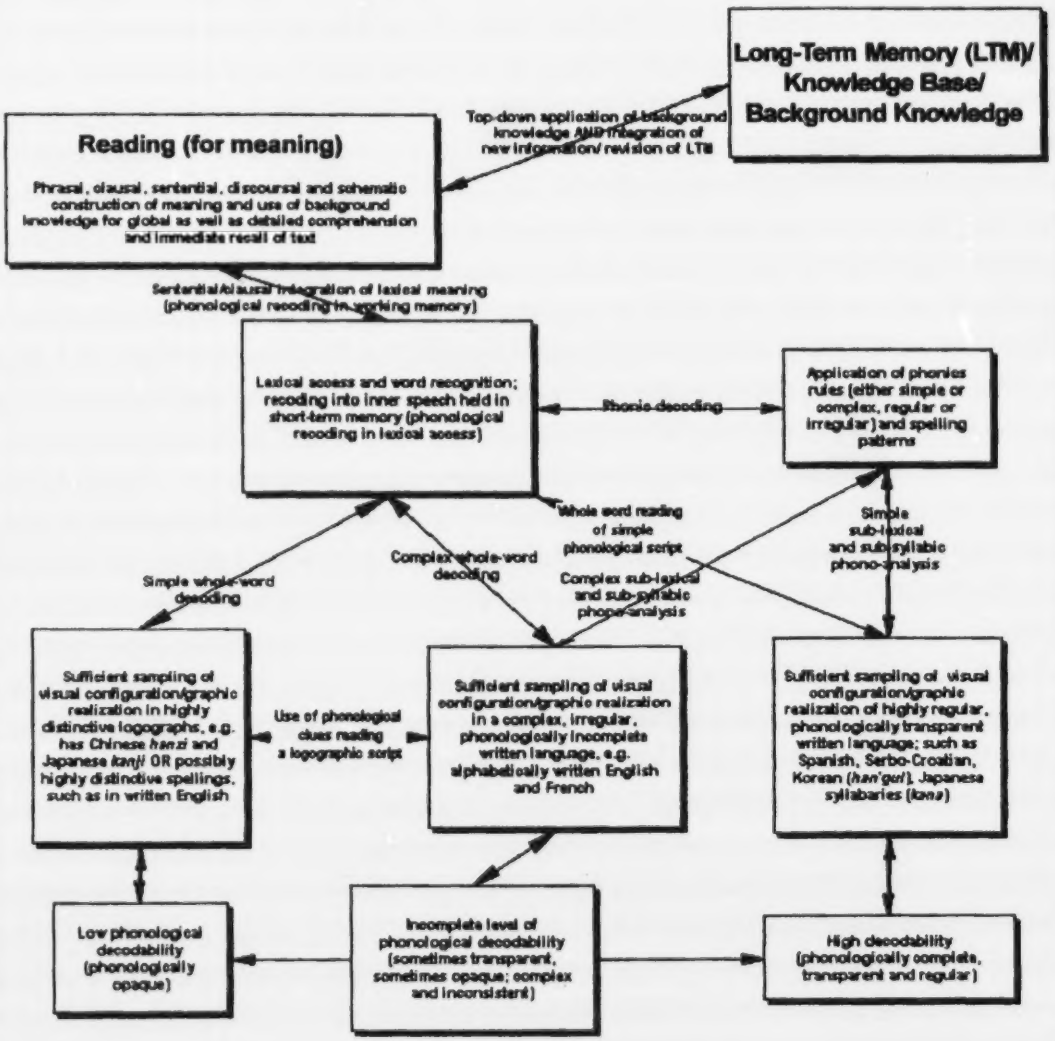
/a:/: talk, walk, chalk, calm, stalk
taut, caught, taught, naught, nautical
ought, sought, fought, bought, brought
law, saw, draw, raw, awful

*Since the real complexity in English spelling is largely with the vowels, this figure presents the major generative patterns. Accents vary, so accordingly to match individual/local differences vowel systems and example words may have to be reorganized under different spelling patterns.

**This is usually the stressed form of the sound, not the much more common unstressed, neutralized form, often called 'schwa', which has so many spellings, it would be hard to say there are any patterns.

covers phonics and whole word skills (since spelling patterns are often captured at a level beyond simple symbol-sound relationships and many common words of English are sight words, conforming to no pattern). Students are presented with a word list of 16 groups; each group of words contains three items that sound very much alike and highlight 'marked' problem sounds of English. For example, the first group of words might have the items *sent, sends,* and *sense.* The second group might have the words *saver, safer, saber,* and so on. The students look at the word list and read and repeat the words after the teacher. Then they form pairs; partner A gets a

Figure 2. Lexical and Sublexical Processing According to Type of Orthography as a Part of Reading for Meaning


Long-Term Memory (LTM)/ Knowledge Base/ Background Knowledge
Top-down application of background knowledge AND integration of new information/ revision of LTM
Reading (for meaning)
Phrasal, clausal, sentential, discoursal and schematic construction of meaning and use of background knowledge for global as well as detailed comprehension and immediate recall of text
Sentential/clausal integration of lexical meaning (phonological recoding in working memory)
Lexical access and word recognition; recoding into inner speech held in short-term memory (phonological recoding in lexical access)
Phonic decoding
Application of phonics rules (either simple or complex, regular or irregular) and spelling patterns
Whole word reading of simple phonological script
Complex whole-word decoding
Simple whole-word decoding
Complex sub-lexical and sub-syllabic phono-analysis
Simple sub-lexical and sub-syllabic phono-analysis
Sufficient sampling of visual configuration/graphic realization in highly distinctive logographs, e.g. has Chinese *hanzi* and Japanese *kanji* OR possibly highly distinctive spellings, such as in written English
Use of phonological clues reading a logographic script
Sufficient sampling of visual configuration/graphic realization in a complex, irregular, phonologically incomplete written language, e.g. alphabetically written English and French
Sufficient sampling of visual configuration/graphic realization of highly regular, phonologically transparent written language; such as Spanish, Serbo-Croatian, Korean (*han'gul*), Japanese syllabaries (*kana*)
Low phonological decodability (phonologically opaque)
Incomplete level of phonological decodability (sometimes transparent, sometimes opaque; complex and inconsistent)
High decodability (phonologically complete, transparent and regular)

print with the words in one order and partner B gets a print with a different order. They then take turns reading out loud and marking target words. For example, partner A might be told to listen and mark as B reads out the word *sense* from the list. Then it is A's turn to pronounce one word —for example *saver* —while B listens and marks. My experience has been that students rate this type of exercise highly, and it does place the practice of pronunciation (along with phonics and phonological aspects of word recognition skills) into the hands of the students, but in a highly structured way that teachers can support in the classroom. To that end, I always finish by doing the exercise as a whole class; I read one randomly chosen word from each group as students again listen and mark. In this way students will get to practice with the teacher's model as well as a peer.

Other phonics and word-analysis activities suitable for adolescent and adult EFL students

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include Kimmell (1989) and Lofft (1989). In Kimmell (1989, *Sound Out: Listening Skills Program*), students are presented with a worksheet with words in groups of three. First, as an entire class say all of the words — this practices pronunciation and spelling. Then students listen as the teacher says a key word. They must choose from each group of words a word that rhymes or shares initial or medial or final sounds with the key word. For example, students see these three words: *rod, fin, fan*. The teacher says the key word, *ran*. The correct response would be to circle *fan*, because it rhymes with *ran*. The 45 exercises in this reproducible 'blackline masters'book gradually cover a spectrum of pronunciation, phonological awareness, and phonics skills. Lofft's reproducible book (1989, *Sound Puzzles*) is a variation on the same ideas behind Kimmell's. With the Lofft book, students practice a word list and then fill in blanks in a type of cloze exercise, but the words are written into blocks that contain a space for each letter of the word. In this way students have two possible clues as to whether they have chosen the correct answer — the meaning of the sentence and the number of spaces for the letters in the word. Each exercise isolates a particular phonics rule. The sentences in the Lofft book may be too difficult for beginning EFL students because many of the terms used are typical of vocabulary expected of native and bilingual speakers but often far afield from the vocabulary of EFL syllabuses at the beginning level. Teachers could, however, use it as a template in creating their own exercises appropriate for their students and the syllabus and word lists they must teach.

Paran (1996) puts forth a rather severe critique of the dominant top-down, schema-theoretic view of EFL reading and offers examples of exercises for developing automaticity in whole word recognition in support of fluent reading. In one type of exercise —a timed activity to be worked through as quickly as possible — the student sees a key word and then must read through a list of distracters that look very much like the key word until she or he spots the key word repeated (Paran, 1996, p. 31). So for example, *immediately* would be followed by *imediately, immediately, immediately, immediateley*. The student, if correct, would underline the third item and then move on to the next set of words. A variation of this is another timed exercise in which a key word is followed by similar-looking but real words of English, no misspellings (Paran, 1996, p. 31). The student proceeds as quickly as possible until she or he finds the word that is identical to the key word. For example, *ensure* would be followed by *insure, sure, insurance,* and *ensure*. The correct student would mark the last item as the matching one. This type of exercise can be made more demanding by presenting longer lists of similar words.

Kratoville (1989, *Word Tracking: High Frequency Words;* 1991, *Sentence Tracking: High Frequency Words*) has constructed two reproducible activity books similar to Paran's suggested tasks. In *Word Tracking*, the student is required to scan a paragraph of frequent words of English, picking out two or three target items. Then the student must write six sentences using words from the preceding paragraph. In the *Sentence Tracking* book, there is a type of timed exercise that goes like this: the student reads a sentence. She or he then proceeds to scan a paragraph of mostly nonsense words trying to find each word from the sentence just read. In a more difficult version, the student covers the sentence and then picks out the words that would make up the target sentence. The student may uncover the sentence to check her or his work. A final section contains paragraphs of largely nonsense words, and the student must work against the clock to pick out the real words (which are taken from a list of the most frequent words of English).

A final recommendation is the title, *What You Can Do With a Word: 300 Classroom Reading Activities* (Raymond, 1981). This book has been compiled for those teaching students with learning and reading disabilities, but can be adapted to beginning literacy in ELT contexts, especially for situations with young learners and learners needing remedial practice. The 300 activities and exercises explained in the book break down into categories for sight vocabulary/whole word skills, word analysis/phono-analytic skills, comprehension and vocabulary/word building, and book sharing/whole class reading projects. The sight vocabulary and word analysis activities overlap somewhat, as English sight words still give

phonic clues and everyday words that can be broken up along phonics principles can still be read as wholes, especially ones that are not too long. Teachers with this volume in their resource collection could easily cover all the skills (pronunciation, phonics/word analysis, whole word recognition, phonological awareness, etc.) discussed in this paper by using the explanations to prepare various activities which draw on the target vocabulary of the syllabus and textbook that they are actually using. These activities have all been designed to be brief and so are an ideal supplement for the main lesson, not a replacement for or distraction from it.

Finding Some Theory in All This Practice

Excessive explicit presentation of any system of phonics with children who know little or no English would probably be a waste of time, no matter how good the underlying analysis might seem. Materials that make far better sense are ones that play off and supplement the main language syllabus and in which patterns are introduced and recycled, with more complexity gradually built in. At the same time, active learning needs to be engaged by asking learners to make explicit their own internal hypotheses about rule-like and generative tendencies and patterns that they notice in the writing system. The beginning learner's vocabulary consists, by necessity, extensively of words that must be learned as sight words through lots of repeated exposure and practice (e.g., *I, eye, said, who, one, two,* etc.). It is also possible to show students through exposure to graded and authentic texts the systematic, generative patterns as they become apparent in the target vocabulary. Such patterns might be simple 'one letter=one sound' type correspondences, or they could take in patterns that are more complex (such as <ight>: *sight, right, might,* etc; and <ei/eig/eigh>: *rein, reign, sleigh,* etc.).

In the cases of ELT, EFL and EFL literacy, I would argue we need to think more along the terms in which Goodman (1967, 1993) originally expressed his view of reading as a "psycholinguistic guessing game": that is, in reading, writing and literacy ALL language processing and comprehension comes together with internalized linguistic knowledge and non-linguistic background knowledge as a 'top-down', holistic orchestration of complex, overlapping skills. This includes those skills or processes that have been traditionally thought of as bottom-up and text-driven. There is no one aspect of a written text that is self-sufficiently bottom-up. That is why human languages are not digital codes, and digital computers can not meaningfully use or manipulate a human language, only transmit or store it if humans command them to. Active human minds and brains have to be engaged or no meaning is understood, interpreted, revised, created or exchanged.

Given the complex, irregular, incomplete, partly logographic, partly phonological nature of English writing conventions and English speakers' reading processes, even phonological and phonics skills must be more top-down, mind-driven processes than text-driven artifacts and inputs. Texts do not drive comprehension processes and never will--that is, texts can not read or understand themselves. It is precisely because written English is both alphabetic while so phonologically incomplete and unhelpful that, if it is visually and linguistically processed at sub-lexical levels, it truly is the "psycholinguistic guessing game" that Goodman has called it. All parts of EFL reading, then, from grapho-phonological elements to lexical, syntactical, discoursal and schematic ones too, if they contribute to comprehension and making meaning, are best thought of as significantly top-down in nature. (See Figure 2 above for a highly schematic presentation of the major types of writing systems and the top-down processes they entail in order for decoding, lexical access and comprehension to take place.)

Teachers who have had to deal with EFL beginners struggling with the complex cipher that is English spelling might ask, What is the single best way to help students overcome the difficulties in decoding written English? Perhaps the single best answer is that teachers should read out loud to students as much as time allows. But students should not be rushed into reading out loud themselves in front of the class. Unfortunately, my own experiences teaching at junior high schools in Japan were just the opposite of my recommendation: students would

busily transcribe the text using *katakana eigo* because they knew their teachers would call on them to read parts of the text out loud in front of the entire class. No wonder, then, that popular, non-academic EFL materials marketed in Japan for beginning level adolescents and adults — such as study guides for the textbooks used in schools — often incorporate *katakana eigo* transcriptions of English vocabulary.

Notes

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Graphical Literacy: The Unconsidered Question of Format

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The physical process of producing readable words on paper is one of the great invisible pedagogic questions. It is not even considered in most published works on the topic of writing; what material *is* published is, for reasons that will be presented later, of questionable value. The majority of educators asked about this topic respond with lack of interest; some explicitly state that it is not an issue of any importance. It is the contention of this paper that it is an issue of importance, or at least an issue of importance equal to many of those issues deemed worthy of reams of published material. The reason it has received little or no attention is a function of educators, and the holes in their interests, training and competence, rather than any intrinsic lack of value.

There are two strands to the issue. The first, the different impacts that different tools have on the process of writing itself, is beyond the scope of this paper, and will only be alluded to in passing. Instead the main focus will be on the extent to which educators are or should be taking account of the capabilities of the dominant writing tools in their teaching of writing skills to students. The points it makes are equally applicable to L1 and L2 writing education.

Background

The history of writing is quite well known. The letterforms upon which English and many other Western languages depend can be traced back to the Phoenicians of 3500 years ago, who modified the pictograms of the Egyptians in order to derive a purely alphabetic writing system (Haley, 1995, p. 119). We may not be absolutely certain whether the shape of the letter A was indeed derived from a pictorial representation of the head of an ox, but we do know how that symbol was written: what tools were employed in its construction. The tools employed, whether stylus, pen, brush or chisel, have had some influence, both on the development of letterform shapes, and on the spread of writing skills themselves.

For most of history, the dominant manner in which the act of writing has been conducted, and the action conjured up in the imagination by the word 'writing' has been that of making marks on paper using a pen or brush held in the hand. The dissemination of written information was revolutionized by the introduction of movable type, usually attributed to Gutenberg in Germany, though movable type had been developed by Bi Sheng in China in the early 11th century (Bringhurst, 1992, p. 119). But the printing revolution had no effect on the primary means of writing: the word "manuscript"means "written by hand".

The first significant change in the tool used by writers (as against printers) was the invention of the typewriter: the first viable model of which was produced by Christopher Sholes, Carlos Glidden, and Samuel Soule in 1867 in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, USA. As the machine was popularised, it slowly came into its own as an alternative to handwriting, though it has also

always fulfilled the role of a *supplement* to handwriting: a means of rendering scribed forms more legible or even publishable. Thus the typewriter was capable of two functions, previously distinct — the scripting function, and the printing function — and the ambiguity about its role thus produced has led in part to the confusion that this paper is intended to address.

Although the typewriter was significant in being the first mainstream alternative to pen/brush forms of writing, its lifetime as a tool has been remarkably short. Indeed, it can now be considered obsolete. It was superseded by the use of the personal computer as a writing tool, a development that has taken place in the last 20 years. The typewriter, nevertheless, still exerts a very powerful influence on the teaching of physical writing skills, for two main reasons. Firstly, the adoption of the typewriter keyboard as the model for computer input has several implications for the act of writing on a computer. Secondly, education in non-scribal methods of the physical act of writing has been conducted by those brought up with the typewriter as a tool, few of whom have the knowledge or desire required to recognize the differences ushered in by the computer.

While a veritable frenzy has erupted over the implications of the Internet for the dissemination of knowledge, there has been less attention paid to the more general question of how computers affect writing. The Internet is really just a single facet of this issue, and "web publishing" just one flavor of publishing. And the revolutionary effect of computers is that for the first time, the writer is also a publisher, and has control of details that have been, since the time of Gutenberg, the province of a select band of expert artisans. But are writers receiving any education in *how* to control those details?

The Problem

Considerable attention has been given to the use of computers in teaching composition. But it is the old story of interest groups selecting for their own purposes: the interest of the educational community in computers has often been for their applications as *pedagogic* tools. Insufficient attention has been given to their basic role for the learning writer as writing tools.

When teachers instruct students in the use of computers, they tend to certain actions which hamper the students' future use of the computer. Firstly, they teach the word processor as if it were no more than a typewriter with some advanced facilities. Several books have already been written specifically on this issue (for example Williams, 1990). If a previously existing machine must be selected as a base, a computer word processor is analogous to a phototypesetter, not a typewriter. Admittedly, highly advanced typewriters are able to mimic the performance of a phototypesetter (during the 80s, when he was using phototypesetting systems, the author also had experience with a large IBM Selectric Composer which could only be described as a hybrid typewriter/typesetter). But the skills being taught to students are those of the lowest common denominator of typewriters: machines with monospaced lettering, no justification and little, if any, correction.

Computer word processors now come with proportionally spaced typefaces and justification as default. They are capable of producing true dashes and true apostrophes and quotation marks, despite the non-appearance of these typographic necessities on the (typewriter-derived) keyboard. Inability to adjust typing and formatting habits to the new medium (most clearly demonstrated by "5 character" or half-inch indents, yawning gaps between words to achieve justification, foot symbols used as apostrophes and quotes, hyphens used as dashes, and even carriage returns at the ends of lines) results in ugly, inefficient products of the writing process. And as everyone is well aware, writing is a process highly responsive to feedback. A student who produces an ugly looking text will not feel the same satisfaction and reinforcement as the student who produces an attractive looking text.

Teachers also habitually teach a rigid academic format, a "standard text document which is formatted according to guidelines established when typewriters were popular" (Rheinfrank & Welker, 1994). This format is familiar to anyone who has taken Typing 101, and is exemplified by academic handbooks such as that of the Modern Language Association (1995). One inch margins (irrespective of page or font size) and double line spacing are distinctive characteristics of this approach. As more dedicated manuals such as *The Chicago Manual of Style* make clear, the purpose of this style is to prepare typewriter manuscripts for publication. The whole system of style is based on academic publishing, and even in that field, with widespread submission of typescripts in electronic format, it is becoming obsolete. Indeed, a look at a recent edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style* will reveal the extent to which this is the case, and may surprise those who have not glanced in a style guide since putting the finishing touches to their first thesis.

But drilling this standard academic format into students is a mistake. What is happening here is a simple repetition: teachers teach what was drilled into them, taking no account of changed circumstances. The goal of teaching writing in L2 teaching is not merely the production of academic papers: it is the preparation of students for the writing tasks they will face outside academia as well as within it. In the past it was sufficient to ensure that students had adequate penmanship, and basic typewriter skills; one could be sure that an expert would be involved at the production stage if the student later required it (whether that expert be an office secretary or a publisher's compositor). Nowadays the academic style is an obstacle for the student who might have to use a word processor outside the university (and in the current job market, that is a large proportion). The preferred academic format is a highly limited beast, designed for the reproduction of academic papers with the minimum of fuss, and the minimum of attention to design on the part of the academics involved with it. Such is not the case with, for example, magazines, books and letters in the wider world. Teaching students a single rigid approach to the visual formatting of information may speed the process, and assist them in preparing term papers, but in terms of life education it is a hindrance. The basic principles of typography are quite easy to impart.

These problems are intertwined. The half-inch paragraph indents beloved of academics are appropriate to typewriters: in typeset text they are excessive. Moreover, while a monospaced typeface will fit relatively few characters on a line, a proportionally spaced face in the same point size will fit far more. It is well known among typographers that for continuous reading, around 65 characters per line is comfortable, while any more than 90 starts to generate physical obstacles to the reading process. Yet in the standard academic face (Times New Roman) at the default size of Word for Windows (10 points) there will be over 100 characters per line on a full A4 page even with generous margins (and even more on the tubbier Letter size)[1]. Learning this, and using the knowledge to achieve optimum results (whether by increasing the point size, increasing the margins, or changing the typeface to a large, wide, face such as Verdana) is not difficult, and fits the student for tasks outside the academic institution.

Even at an early stage in the use of computers in the composition classroom, it was obvious that students responded positively to them (Bernhardt et al., 1989). The author's own experience in teaching L2 composition classes reinforces this: students are eager to explore the potential of word processors, and to use them to make their work more attractive and readable. The "product" approach to teaching writing may be unfashionable, but experience shows that there is a feedback effect to be gained when students start to recognize that their written work is communicating effectively. Motivation is improved. The problem lies not with the technology, nor with the students, but in the attitude of the majority of teachers.

Like most experts, teachers are resistant to areas outside their experience. Because historically the teaching of writing has never involved anything beyond manuscript (or, at most, typescript) stage, teachers show a marked reluctance to dabble in the typographic field which has been ushered into the mainstream by the new technology. And who can blame them? The same is true of any interest/expertise group. Walter Tracy, a typographer, discusses legibility

research thus: "A great deal of the research, though, seems to be produced by academics for the interest not of designers but of other academics. Their motives are easy to understand: there is the need to add another title to their list of publications, that being the way to academic advancement" (Tracy, 1988, p. 84). As educators, we should remember that our primary responsibility in researching and publishing is not to other academics, but to students, and what will give them what they need.

A recent advertisement for a device called AlphaSmart 2000, aimed at assisting elementary school children to learn to write, actually promotes itself with the phrase "teach writing, not formatting."It is an interesting contention, related to the utopian belief that there is such as thing as content in the absence of presentation. Many years after sixties visionary Marshall McLuhan coined the phrase "The Medium is the Message,"people still believe in pure content. Yet "The 'content' of any medium is always another medium. The content of writing is speech, just as the written word is the content of print" (McLuhan, 1964). Not only is it clearly necessary to teach formatting, it is also something to which students respond positively, especially when they make the discovery that despite all efforts at academic objectivity, a well-presented paper will get a better grade than a poorly presented paper.

Other Facets

Paper printing is far from being the only form of publishing; many believe its days are numbered. Web publishing is the most visible of various purely electronic forms of writing dissemination, and despite its short history it has already developed its own sets of protocols. Interestingly enough, web publishing is one of the few areas where writing instructors habitually *do* take an active interest in encouraging students to think about the presentation of their writing. Future developments may make it easier to extend this to other forms of writing.

For example, the HTML language which is currently the mainstay of web publishing may soon be supplanted by XML, a more flexible language (though a derivative of the same original mark-up format, SGML). XML is more than merely a web publishing format, however. Amongst other things it is also the core of the Open eBook format which Microsoft's eBook Reader (its "LIT"format is a form of packaged OEB) is in the process of bringing to prominence.

Writing for electronic media makes it all the more important that students are instructed in *principles* rather than simply force fed the ready-made formats of yesteryear. One of the essential points to understand in making efficient use of mark-up language is that of structure. The use of, say, *italics* in writing has become an almost invisible convention: experienced writers use it without hardly noticing why they do so. But as should be made clear in teaching writing, italics are used to denote a certain function: which may be emphasis, the title of a work, a foreign word or any one of several other functions. In electronic publishing the text will be tagged according to its *function*, and not according to its visual appearance (the visual appearance can be specified separately and can differ by medium: italics are better in print than on screen, for example). In XML, or indeed any structure-based system, we would therefore write something like: "The use of, say, <emphasis>italics</emphasis> in writing has become an almost invisible convention."

Teaching document format in terms of representing structures also encourages the use of the 'styles' and 'templates' functions of word processors, features little-used by non-professionals, yet which genuinely harness the power of the computer to make the task of producing finished copy more efficient. Computers excel at performing repetitive tasks with a single command, so there is no need for formatting to be handled on a case-by-case basis. 'Styles' are effectively formatting macros: programmable collections of formatting commands which

can be applied to standardize the appearance of text with specified functions. They make formatting revisions easily and speedily achievable. Collections of styles, combined with information about margins, page size etc, are 'templates'. Because these can all be specified by the writer, it is possible to generate templates for different jobs say, one for academic papers, and another for books. If the names of styles are kept consistent, the same document can be used as both an academic paper and a book, and the format adjusted by just loading a different template. A good example of how these functions of Microsoft Word can be taught to L2 English Composition students can be found at the Hong Kong University Web page (http://ec.hku.hk/writing_turbocharger/).

Conclusion and Recommendations

Writing instructors, challenged to impart to students some rudimentary understanding of formatting, shrug. "It's not important," they say, meaning, of course, that it is not important to them. If the same scenario were replayed, but with the word 'spelling' or 'grammar' replacing 'formatting' then what would we think of the instructors? Yet spelling and grammar are, like formatting and letterforms themselves, merely conventions adopted to facilitate communication. Like it or not, the IT revolution has taken stages in the publishing process which were formerly the preserve of compositors and printers, and put them right on the desktop.

A conscientious educator, shocked by this state of affairs, might ask "What am I to do?" It's a fair question. As already noted, the circular state of affairs in academia means that there are few resources which even begin to address this issue. Some that do are noted in the references for this paper. Looking outside the academic field, an old pair of books by Robin Williams, *The Mac is Not a Typewriter* and *The PC is Not a Typewriter*, are good starting points from the purely print-based perspective. The same author, who has undertaken something of a crusade on this subject, also produced a book called *The Non-Designer's Design Book* which is effective at developing simple visual strategies for those lacking in confidence. But even those old favorites of academics around the world: *The Chicago Manual of Style*, and *Words Into Type*, contain ample resources about publishing. All that is really needed is the leap of faith: for writing instructors to realize that they are now teaching not only composition in the conceptual sense, but in the graphical sense too.

Notes

[1] Macintoshes, which have always had more input from the design community, have a somewhat more generous default font size of 12 points.

About the Author

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Hong Kong University Web Page: http://ec.hku.hk/writing_turbocharger/

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E-mail us and let us know what you think at <jannuzi@ hotmail.com>

A Word Mining Activity for Learning Adjectives of Personality

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Although conventional wisdom prescribes teaching vocabulary in small, controlled amounts, there are arguments for providing students a vocabulary-rich environment. Blair (1982) compares the classroom to a 'mine' filled with 'gems' of language. Instead of being forced to work with what they find in a small area, students should be allowed to move freely in the mine, gathering the 'gems' of language they like. Others have voiced similar views (see Carter and McCarthy, 1988, p. 41-48).

'Word mining' allows students to personalize their vocabulary learning. This is especially important for learners in mixed-level and higher-level classes, where differences in ability and learning needs clearly emerge. The notion of word mining doesn't designate any particular set of activities, but rather an approach to teaching and learning that emphasizes autonomy. In its most obvious form it involves giving learners the freedom to choose the materials they will learn from and what words, phrases, and expressions they will select for further study.

As a 'word mine' nothing surpasses the dictionary, and this is doubly true of a bilingual one. However, the variety of words one encounters is impressive to the point of being overwhelming. Still, no good prospector digs around indiscriminately; a good map is a great help in limiting the territory. In this case, the teacher can provides the "map" by selecting vocabulary according to an overarching function or topic and presenting it in a bilingual list The activity described below will show how large (40 words or more) bilingual lists of vocabulary, organized by domain or theme, can be written and used along with interview questions to give learners the chance to encounter unknown words multiple times and thus improve their chance of learning them. While the activity can be adapted to any level, the list presented below is designed for intermediate or higher learners.

Designing the Bilingual Word List

The first step in designing the word list is to decide on a unifying topic or function. The topic or function has an important function of connecting the vocabulary to its context of use. The topic used here as an example is "Personality", and all the words selected are adjectives.

The second step is to make the vocabulary list. To avoid overloading the students with unknown vocabulary, a bilingual word list is essential. Given the bad reputation bilingual word lists have gotten, this may not seem like a good idea since a common objection to bilingual word lists is their inherent lack of contextual support. In a properly designed word mining activity, this problem is overcome, at least in part, by the unifying theme and the context supplied by the interview questions. The vocabulary is organized in rows, with four or five columns of lines between each row. The number of columns corresponds to the number of interview questions to be asked during the activity. Each column is gven a number which corresponds to the number of an interview question. In the case of the "Personality" activity described here, all

adjectives need to have a positive connotation because the activity is an "ice breaker" which involves some personal questions. Using negative adjectives in this activity could easily cause embarassment.

Doing the Activity

Pronunciation

The class needs to be organized into pairs (small groups will also work) and each student should have a copy of the word list. Because the students will be working mostly on their own, it is important that they be able to pronounce the words properly. Because repeating the entire list is time consuming and boring, it is better to give the students a few minutes to scan the list and mark any words they don't know the pronunciation or stress for. They then ask for help by indicating the word by location (i.e. "the fifth word from the bottom of column three"), repeating words and adding stress marks after the teacher has modeled the word.

Scanning

The next step is to have the students read the first interview question silently, choose five adjectives to answer the question, and tick or otherwise mark the selected words in column one. This process is repeated again with question 2 (marked in column 2), and so on until all of the questions have been answered.

The word list itself does not have the interview questions written on it. This is done on purpose to keep the students in suspense about the ultimate purpose of the list. Once they have completed the preliminary steps, I write the first three interview questions on the board, which they answer silently:

1. What kind of person would you say you are? Choose five adjectives.
2. What kind of person would you say you aren't? Choose five adjectives.
3. What kind of person would you like to be? Choose five adjectives.
4. What would your "dream partner" (husband or wife) be like? Choose five adjectives.

First Pair Interview

After they have marked their answers for the first four questions, the interviews can begin. Given the slightly personal nature of the question I use (they can be easily changed, of course), pairings with friends are best. Student A asks the question as written and student B should answer in a complete sentence. Students should be encouraged to continue discussing the topic through at least one more exchange:

A: What kind of person would you say you are?
B: I think/I'd say I am ~
A: (question/comment/etc.)
B: (response)

Second Scanning, Second Interview

After the first four interview questions are finished, each student should find a new partner, **preferably someone they don't know well**. Instruct them that they should just have a

free conversation and **not use the word list**. After about three to five minutes, write the fifth question on the board:

5. What's your impression of your partner? Choose five adjectives.

Since all of the vocabulary on the word list is positive, there is no risk of insulting one's partner, so the question is a safe one. However, some guided responses will probably be needed. One useful expression is "You strike me as (being)...." If there is time the questions can be done again since everyone has a new partner. In later classes, new questions can be used so that students can review the list, such as "What qualities should a teacher have?" and "Describe someone you admire."

Conclusion

Word mining activities are not the easiest materials to create, but once made can be used any number of times and shared around. It's worth the trouble, though, because word mining activities like this are quite stimulating for students.

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Readers are encouraged to submit annotated lists of links and reviews of sites in their literacy based area of interest. See the Submission Guidelines in this issue for more information. Note that opinions expressed here are not necessarily those of Literacy Across Cultures or any group associated with it.

On-Line Newspapers as a Source for Language Teaching Material: Part 2

by Charles Jannuzi
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In the last issue of LAC, Paul Wringer and David Dycus covered in detail how to find and use newspapers on the WWW for EFL learning and literacy. This is a brief follow-up that supplements what they discussed.

The WWW presents a host of problems for newspapers. It is absolutely necessary for newspapers of record to establish themselves on what has become the world's most imporant conduit of information. However, it is difficult for newspapers to make any money online while at the same time the margins for turning a profit in print are thinner than ever. They do not have their traditional base of advertisers to support them, and readers are reluctant to pay for subscriptions so long as there is so much free information out there on the Web.

Moreover, the WWW has presented opportunities for alternative sources of news. For one thing, broadcasters such as CNN and BBC translate well to the hypertextual, mixed media reality of the Web. Still yet another challenge to newspapers is that of disintermediation: people can now go directly to portal sites (such as <http://www.yahoo.com/>) and get their news pretty much as the news services present it (or they can even go straight to the news services, <http://www.reuters.com/>).

Some ESL-specific sites

As a language teacher, I find it tempting to use the text-rich sources of major newspapers online. And everyone has their online favorites (mine is the Christian Science Monitor <http://www.csmonitor.com/>). However, what if you do not teach students with sufficient language levels to deal with such authentic texts?

One approach is to pour as much top-down schema processing and language support tasks as possible into the lesson. That is, don't grade the text, rather grade the task and provide lots of cognitive and linguistic support to students. One problem with over-using such strategies, however, is that authentic texts always then become objects of language study, but never as means of getting information and revising knowledge. This often results in doing just about everything possible with a text BUT READING IT!

The other strategy is to grade the text and keep the language building tasks brief enough so that they do not distract from sustained reading. The following are some news sites that can be used as sources of graded texts.

Keynews.org
<http://www.keynews.org/>

This site presents news articles in newspaper form, but written in simple English. I estimate the readability to be much easier than even USA Today. Content, though, is pretty much limited to US news; updates do not look all that frequent, at least during the summer months.

English to Go.com
http://www.english-to-go.com/

This one was reviewed in the Wringer and Dycus article, but I think it is so good it is worth listing here again. It makes free weekly lessons available, and a reminder of what and how to access comes in an e-mail. The $20.00 individual subscription is well worth it if you have to put together a reading (or reading-writing connections) class quickly or a lesson on the fly. Another nice thing about English to Go is that they have kept things as streamlined as possible, which helps download times if you have slow access to the Web, and it also helps keep printing up materials neat and clean.

Portal Sites

Portal Sites such as Yahoo have significantly replaced newspapers and TV's CNN as some people's most immediate source of breaking news. However, there are portal sites that specialize just in news. For example:

Moreover.com
<http://w.moreover.com/>
<http://www.moreover.com/news>

That first is not a typo, but a new type of WWW address. This is somewhat like the Ananova site <http://www.ananova.com> reviewed in the previous issue of *LAC*. From its news portal site, you can access newspapers from around the world. You have to fill out a subscription form if you wish to upgrade to a professional business service which gives you access to a portal that includes business and financial news. One problem with news portals is that a lot of articles at various publications change location, but the portals don't know this, so I have always experienced a lot dead links, especially when trying to access archived articles.

Make Your Own News Page

Quickbrowse.com
<http://www.quickbrowse.com>

This site lets you put together your own online newspaper from any online source that it can link to. You have to fill out an account form, though the service is free. Quickbrowse directs you to a menu of US newspapers from which to build your news page, but then you can add any URL of your own. You can also later edit— delete and add to — your page. Or, you can create a different page for different purposes. Also, another nice feature is that you can then have your page sent to your e-mail address. The pedagogical potential for this is enormous. Suppose you wanted students to compare how your country's leading newspaper reported an event compared to a newspaper in the US or UK? How about a bi-lingual news page? Or how about a news page that only links to coverage of a specific theme or topic? This site is well worth looking into.

It Is Written

Book and Teaching Material Reviews

Edited by Charles Jannuzi

Corpus Linguistics: Investigating Language Structure and Use . Douglas Biber, Susan Conrad, & Randi Reppen . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. Pp. 300. ISBN 0-521-4995-7

Written with enthusiasm in a user-friendly style, *Corpus linguistics: Investigating language structure and use* has an attractive no-nonsense approach for its readers. The intended readership is broad, from undergraduate through to professional researcher, and Biber, Conrad and Reppen provide enough depth and breadth to keep different readers' attention, if not always their fascination.

As an introductory overview to corpus linguistics, the authors focus on explaining key methodological and technical issues in corpus linguistics within a research framework of example case studies in Parts I and II (pp. 21-132 and 135-229, respectively). The first part of the book takes up questions concerning individual linguistic features (lexicography, grammar, lexico-grammar and discourse), while the second part explores characteristics of varieties (register variation and ESP, language acquisition and development, as well as historical and stylistic questions). In addition to a closing overview, this 300-page volume also includes a set of short methodology boxes, a list of corpora and analytical tools, plus a concise bibliography.

One of the book's virtues is the consistency of organisation from chapter to chapter in Parts I and II. Beginning with a short two or three page summary of relevant wider research and trends in linguistics, the chapters quickly move to highlighting how corpus linguistics can refresh the parts that other linguistic approaches can't reach. Specific research questions are then raised, with the rest of each chapter explaining and discussing the example case studies. It's a fairly simple rhetorical strategy and it maintains a strong instructional edge.

A second strength of the book is that the authors use different corpora for different purposes and put forward a variety of comparisons between spoken and written English registers. Register is seen as one of the overarching influences on how language is used and structured. For example, the senses of the noun *deal* are contrasted through the noun collocates in two registers from the Longman-Lancaster Corpus, academic prose and fiction. The lessons learned from the corpus analysis are then juxtaposed with how five common dictionaries define the same word. Both are found wanting: The corpus analysis misses the sense of *deal* for card games, and the dictionaries downplay the use of *good/great deal* to express amount, which the corpus analysis suggests is the most common sense. Interestingly, in terms of word associations, it is the card-dealing association that speakers apparently tend to associate with the noun *deal*, rather than the more common sense of *amount* found in the corpus analysis (p. 41).

More than that, though, the authors underline how collocational patterning differs across registers and how register-insensitive generalisations about lexical use "are often not accurate for any variety, instead describing a kind of language that doesn't actually exist at all" (p.35). They illustrate this further by tracing noun and verb ratios in academic prose, fiction and speech (Chapter 3, *Grammar*), before usefully comparing what the corpus evidence shows about subject *that*-clauses as a feature of written expository prose with how different ESL textbooks present this grammatical pattern. As with the dictionaries mentioned earlier, the textbooks typically fail to include important functional guidelines that structure's function and use.

As we move through the book to the second part, these discrete insights are further expanded into a more comprehensive framework of language in use through multi-dimensional analysis of register variation. In brief, this involves tagging linguistic features across different corpora and then using factor analysis to identify the dimensions along which different registers may be meaningfully differentiated. In Chapter 6, *Register variation and English for Specific*

Purposes, the authors identify the following factors, or dimensions: involved versus informational production, narrative versus non-narrative discourse, elaborated versus situation-dependent reference, overt expression of argumentation and impersonal versus non-impersonal style. Yet, they do not group ESP as one register in itself; rather, they show how some of the dimensions vary between different academic disciplines. What this kind of corpus linguistic analysis can do is provide highly detailed linguistic evidence of how different discourse communities organise and encode their socioliterate practice.

However, a number of problems can be noted with the corpus linguistic approach. Chapter 7, *Language acquisition and development*, explores how corpus analysis can illuminate school children's development of writing proficiency, the characteristics of children's spoken and written registers, and the relationships between fifth graders' language and various dimensions of adult language. The first problem, as the authors point out, is the lack of publicly available "natural" texts to provide the data for the corpus. They base their analysis on the CHILDES database, which consists of 45,000 words of written text: 14,000 are student writing, and the rest children's readers and textbooks (31,000), with just 17,000 words of spoken text. This corpus of student writing is approximately $1/14^{th}$ of the 200,000 word sub-corpora that Granger has organised each L2 variety by in the International Corpus of Learner English. Yet, even Granger's sample databases are dwarfed by the millions of words in major commercial databases such as COBUILD. Thus, the need to build up more substantial corpora of learner English across different academic disciplines and age groups is clear; however, it would seem that the constraints on doing this cannot be properly addressed unless educational institutions become more focussed on researching the development of L2 scholastic and academic literacy.

The second problem is that the authors used in-class writings only for inclusion in their sampling of student writing. They argue that this avoids "the confounding influence of teachers modifying student texts" (p.185), implying that this provides for natural language use. Such an argument is often raised in promotion of corpora as if the published texts used in commercially available corpora have never been edited and revised. If we think of the influence of editors and sub-editors in the production of newspapers, books and academic papers, as well as a writer's own constant revisions, it is difficult to accept the claim of "natural" (even if elaborated, careful and informational) language use for most written corpora. And in the specific case of the student writing in the CHILDES database, it is not surprising that the researchers find "many characteristics of on-line production" (p.185) such as frequent use of *And* to start sentences and unclear third-person pronominal reference. So, there remains a question of intrinsic bias in how example texts of English are selected and collected unless better account of different stages of discourse production is taken for both NS and NNS text-producers.

There exists a basic conundrum between corpus linguistics and second language vocabulary research: How lexis is used, and the frequency with which words come up in different registers and corpora, do not necessarily reflect how users organise and retrieve individual words from the mental lexicon, nor do corpora offer insights into how users process and combine lexical items for different discourse purposes. The one constantly contradicts the other. A sense of "Yes, but ..." persists as we look at the huge advances made by corpus linguistics and the wealth of often counter-intuitive insights that *Corpus linguistics: Investigating language structure and use* provides. Where, though, are the hypothesized connections to psycholinguistics? In the end, is it just horses for different courses, or should we expect a closer alignment between the twin imperatives of quantitative data and qualitative modelling?

References

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